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The Catholic Historical Review

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ST. PATRICK: 461-1961

By

Robert E. McNally*

According to the title of this paper, the central theme which I propose to discuss is St. Patrick, whose 1500th anniversary falls on March 17 of the coming year. This ancient saint, whose principal claim to fame rests on his successful apostolate to the Irish nation, is in many respects one of the makers of the Middle Ages. His apostolic mission to Ireland resulted in the creation of a new Christian culture in that Celtic island with which every student of the early Middle Ages must reckon. The historical greatness of St. Patrick within the framework of church history can be best measured by the fact that his conversion of Ireland—the most remarkable thrust forward of the fifth-century Church—almost coincides with the definitive retreat, both political and military, of Rome from Britannia. Considering the role which St. Patrick played in the history of Ireland, it is understandable that he is represented in Irish legend

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The following abbreviations are used in this article: AB: *Analecta Bollandiana;* ACW: *Ancient Christian Writers;* HBS: *Henry Bradshaw Society;* IER: *Irish Ecclesiastical Record;* IHS: *Irish Historical Studies;* LLSP: Ludwig Bieler, *The Life and Legend of St. Patrick* (Dublin, 1948); PL: *Patrologia Latina,* Migne; SILH: James Carney, *Studies in Irish Literature and History* (Dublin, 1955); TDL: *Thomas Davis Lectures* (Dublin, 1958).

as a new Moses leading his people into a new promised land and, thereby, starting a new chapter in the national history of that people.

The fifteen centuries which separate us from the days of St. Patrick have almost succeeded in burying him in the debris of history. The evidence shows that even as early as the seventh century the Patrician problem was already alive. In the Book of Armagh[1] we read how Muir-chú[2] lamented the difficulties of arriving at a uniform presentation of the life of the great saint because of the manifold opinions and guesses of so many different people which were current even in the late seventh century.[3] The problem of rediscovering and restoring the saint as an historical person has closely occupied the attention of modern Patrician scholars for almost a century with the consequent enrichment of our knowledge of early Irish history. In this short paper I would like to discuss some recent solutions of the classical problem in Irish church history, the problem of the "Two Patricks."[4]

The existence of two missionaries in the fifth century in Ireland with the name Patricius is attested by some Irish writings of the late eighth and ninth centuries. The Irish Annals, more often than not our only reliable source for this early period, report two sets of obits of a man named Patricius. In the Annals of Ulster,[5] derived from an Ulster Chronicle, which was probably put together some time about 740 A.D., we find the following chronological notice on Patrick:

457. Quies senis Patricii, ut alii libri dicunt.
461. Hic alii quietem Patricii dicunt.
491. Dicunt Scotti hic Patricium archiepiscopum defunctum.

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[1] *Book of Armagh. The Patrician Documents,* edited by Edward Gwynn, *Facsimiles in Collotype of Irish Manuscripts,* Volume III (Dublin, 1937). This work is hereinafter cited as *Book of Armagh.* Cf. on this early ninth-century (*ca.* 807) codex, James F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland* (New York, 1929), I, 331-334, and especially Paul Grosjean, S.J., "Analyse du livre d'Armagh," *AB,* LXII (1944), 33-41.

[2] "Muir-chú's work forms the basis of all subsequent Patrician biography." Cf. Kenney, *op. cit.,* p. 333.

[3] *Book of Armagh,* fol. 20r, p. 19.

[4] This paper is only an introduction to and survey of the state of this difficult question. It is not my intent to offer a new solution in addition to the many already proposed.

[5] *Annals of Ulster* (A.D. 431-1056), edited by William M. Hennessy and Bartholomew MacCarthy (Dublin, 1887), I, 17, 19, 30.

The further continuation of this tradition is reflected in a number of Hiberno-Latin works which date from a period subsequent to the compilation of the Annals. The Martyrologies of Oengus[6] and Tallaght,[7] both as old as the year 800, commemorate a St. Patrick on March 17 and another saint of the same name on August 24; and, the existence of a second St. Patrick is in evidence in the texts of the Génair Pátraic,[8] the Law of Adamnan,[9] and the famous Stowe Missal.[10]

The testimony of the historical sources is, indeed, sufficient to pose the problem of the "Two Patricks," but, unfortunately, insufficient to solve it to the satisfaction of all. Despite the excellent research that has been devoted to this problem, the conflicting testimony of the early source material tends to leave the question somewhat in a state of suspension and insecurity. The greatest single need in this field of study is, perhaps, a thorough, critical re-examination of the sources of early Irish history—a re-evaluation quite independent and separate from the partisan spirit which the Patrician question has engendered.

It is a well known fact of Irish history that Palladius, sent by Pope Celestine in 431 "ad Scottos in Christum credentes,"[11] is the

[6] *Félire Oengusso Céli Dé. The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee*, edited by Whitley Stokes, *HBS*, XXIX (London, 1905), 82 (F. xvi. cal. Apr.), 178 (E. ix cal. Septembris). This martyrology seems to be the earliest source for the expression, "Sen-Phátric."

[7] *The Martyrology of Tallaght*, edited by Richard I. Best and Hugh J. Lawlor, *HBS*, LXVIII (London, 1931), 24, 65.

[8] *Génair Patricc* (Fiacc's Hymn), line 65: "Intan conhúalai Patraic, adella in Patraicc naile."—"When Patrick (Pátraic mac Calpuirn) departed, he went to the other Patrick (Senphátraic)." Whitley Stokes and John Strachan (eds.), *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* (Cambridge, 1903), II, 320. The eleventh-century commentaries on this hymn, one of the earliest in Old Irish (*c.* 800, in Slébte), show the full flowering of the Patrick legend. Cf. Kenney, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

[9] "in dá Pátraic," *Cáin Adamnáin. An Old Irish Treatise on the Law of Adamnan*, edited by Kuno Meyer, *Anecdota Oxoniensia. Mediaeval and Modern Series* (Oxford, 1905), XII, 22. Cf. Francis Shaw, S.J., "The Myth of the Second Patrick," *Studies*, L (1961), 24.

[10] *The Stowe Missal*, edited by George F. Warner, *HBS*, XXXII (London, 1915), II, 15. Note that in the Litany of the Saints (fol. 30r, p. 14) and in the Canon at *Nobis quoque peccatoribus*, the name "Patricius" is mentioned but once.

[11] Prosper, *Chronicon*, edited by Theodor Mommsen, *Chronica minora* (Berlin, 1892), I, 473.

first Catholic bishop designated to evangelize Ireland in an official capacity. We know of no other before him; with his name and his chronology for all practical purposes the history of the Irish Church begins. He was succeeded by a certain Patricius, the author of two precious documents, a *Confessio* and the *Epistola ad Milites Corotici*,[12] who arrived in Ireland in 432, preached the Gospel and died there about 461. He is traditionally known as the national apostle of this island.[13] Palladius and Patricius, therefore, are normally distinguished as the first and the second bishops of Ireland. The one came from the continent, the other from Britannia; the first arrived in Ireland in 431 and disappeared shortly thereafter; the second came in 432 and died in 461.

Yet according to a highly enigmatic notice in the Book of Armagh, the fifth addition to the *Breviarium* of Tírechán,[14] Palladius was also called Patricius. "Palladius episcopus primo mittitur qui Patricius alio nomine appellabatur." It is remarkable that later Irish tradition, while virtually silent about Palladius, seems to have doubled Patrick. This confused and confusing testimony creates the Patrician problem, and it poses difficult questions about the relation of Patrick to Palladius, the date of Patrick's arrival in Ireland and his death, his place in the history of the Irish Church, and the identity of "the other Patrick." These vexing questions, forming the core of the Patrician problem, have received a variety of answers which are fundamental to the widely different interpretations which have been given to the historic role of St. Patrick.

The distinguished Patrician scholar, Professor Ludwig Bieler of University College, Dublin, has rightly remarked that "the two Patrick problem is as old as modern studies in the early history of the Irish Church."[15] The various solutions which have been pre-

[12] *Libri epistolarum sancti Patricii episcopi*, edited by Ludwig Bieler (Dublin, 1952). The edition of the *Confessio* is hereinafter cited as *Confessio*. Cf. on the other Patrician writings, Bieler, *LLSP* (Dublin, 1948), pp. 33 ff.

[13] In this paper, "traditional" refers to that interpretation which holds one Patrick, the national apostle, who died *ca.* 461. This is said without prejudice to James Carney, "A New Chronology of the Saint's Life," *TDL* (Dublin, 1958), pp. 24-37, who calls this interpretation "orthodox" and his own "traditional." Cf. Mario Esposito, "The Problem of the Two Patricks," *ibid.*, pp. 38-52, especially p. 50.

[14] *Book of Armagh*, fol. 16^{r}, p. 15.

[15] Bieler, "The Mission of Palladius," *Traditio*, VI (1948), 3.

sented since the time of Archbishop James Ussher to the present day are obviously too numerous and complicated to be handled in this short paper; but an examination, however brief, will be useful in grasping the proportions of the historical problem in question. As early as 1790, Edward Ledwich in his *Antiquities of Ireland*[16] simply denied the existence of St. Patrick on the grounds that so fantastic a person was incompatible with either history or common sense. This is not surprising, seeing that the Patrick whom he knew through the historical sources and scientific literature current in his day, was far more the Patrick of the eighteenth than of the fifth century. It was the Patrick buried under the accumulated legends of more than 1200 years, the Patrick of the fabulous *Vita Tripartita* (c. 900), which "shows the evolution of the Patrick legend nearly completed. Only minor elaborations have since taken place."[17]

But this theory of the non-existence of Patrick was not nearly so exotic as the conclusion of S. Czarnowski, writing more than a hundred years later,[18] that Patrick was the ancient sun god of Ireland, a highly mythological figure created by the fertile Celtic imagination. Such interpretations seemed original and daring, but they were soon forsaken on the grounds of their lack of historical, critical method. Still, it must be admitted that a scholar as distinguished as Charles Plummer could write:[19] "On the whole, I am inclined to agree with those . . . who have doubted the very existence of St. Patrick." This doubt was created by the reasonable, though not conclusive, conjecture that "if Prosper and Bede knew of the unsuccessful mission of Palladius," they would certainly have spoken of "the triumphant mission of Patrick."

Various attempts have been made to push the chronology of St. Patrick far back into the second century. According to an old theory, which has been recently resurrected, the authors, both known by

[16] Edward Ledwich, *Antiquities of Ireland*, 2d ed. (Dublin, 1804), pp. 54-69.

[17] Kenney, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

[18] Stefan Czarnowski, *Le culte des héros et ses conditions sociales. Saint Patrick, héros national de l'Irlande* (Paris, 1919), pp. 150-151. This curious work is in many respects typical of the exaggerations of the Durkheim school of sociology, e.g.: ". . . saint Patrick présente certains caractères d'un génie solaire. . . . Sa fête coincide avec l'équinoxe du printemps. . . . De plus, saint Patrick est, comme le soleil, rempli d'une puissance lumineuse et chaude."

[19] *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, edited by Charles Plummer (Oxford, 1896), p. 25.

the name Patrick, who wrote the *Confessio* and the *Epistola ad Coroticum*, are different persons. The former is supposed to have lived in the fifth century, the latter about the years 250-280 A.D., "a date which fits well with other ecclesiastical history."[20] John Francis Shearman[21] went a step further with the multiplication of Patricks by proposing the triad, Palladius, Sen Patrick, and Patrick MacCalphurn. By arbitrarily assigning dates to each of these three Patricks, he hoped to solve various chronological problems arising from the Irish Annals. This fantastic theory, characterized by poor handling and even mishandling of the source material, never found common acceptance.

From the nineteenth century on, there has been a strong tendency to identify Patrick I, the "Old Patrick," with Palladius, to situate this composite person in the early part of the fifth century, and to place his successor, Patrick II, toward the end of that century. Of the scholars who have held this theory in one form or another, the best known is probably Heinrich Zimmer,[22] who in his celebrated essay on the Celtic Church maintained that the ethos, underlying the origin and growth of the Patrick legend, was the overpowering desire of the south Irish Church to achieve *unitas Catholica*. Under these tendentious circumstances, St. Patrick emerged as the national apostle, a creature of Rome, the decisive factor in the celebrated paschal controversy which at that time was sorely vexing the Irish Church. But Zimmer's approach to the Patrician problem, like that of many of his contemporaries, was dominated by confessional presuppositions which were too exaggerated to have exercised a decisive influence.

[20] Josiah Cox Russell, "The Problem of St. Patrick the Missionary," *Traditio*, XII (1956), 393-398. A much earlier chronology of St. Patrick was proposed by John R. Ardill, *St. Patrick, A.D. 180* (London, 1931), whose views were quickly refuted by Newport J. D. White, *The Date of St. Patrick: The Internal Evidence of His Latin Writings* (Dublin, 1932). Ardill's answer, *The Date of St. Patrick. A Reply to N. J. D. White*, 3rd ed. (Dublin, 1932), added nothing new to the discussion.

[21] John F. Shearman, *Loca Patriciana* (Dublin, 1882), pp. 395 ff.

[22] Heinrich Zimmer, "Keltische Kirche," *Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, X (1901), 204-243, translated by A. Meyer, *The Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland* (London, 1902). Cf. the interesting evaluation of this work by Kenney, "St. Patrick and the Patrick Legend," *Thought*, VIII (1933), 29-34.

But not all nineteenth-century scholars forsook the traditional view of Mono-Patrick. Marie H. d'Arbois de Jubainville,[23] e.g., defended the thesis that there was only one Patrick, clearly distinct from Palladius. According to his conception of the problem, the Patrick who died in 457 A.D. is the true Patrick of history. Legendary are Sen Patrick and all the sources which support such a personality. But the most complete presentation of Mono-Patrick in the past sixty years is John Bagnell Bury's *The Life of St. Patrick,* which was published in London in 1905.[24] Here we find a careful synthesis of the more reliable elements in the traditional biography of Magonus Sucatus Patricius,[25] born of a Roman family about 380 near Bannaventa,[26] in southwest Britain, in the region of the lower Severn. In his sixteenth year captured by Irish raiders and carried off to Ireland, to "the extremities of the world," he served six years of slavery in the mysterious Silva Vocluti,[27] "nigh to the Western sea." Characteristic of Bury's presentation is its close reliance on the most traditional features of Patrick's biography: the escape from Ireland to Gaul,[28]

[23] Marie H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, "Saint Patrice et Sen Patrice," *Revue Celtique,* IX (1888), 111-117.

[24] For one of the better recent presentations of what might be called the "Bury School," cf. John Ryan, S.J., "The Traditional View of St. Patrick," *TDL,* and "The Two Patricks," *IER,* LX (1942), 241-252. Cf. also the review of Myles Dillon's excellent little work, *Early Irish Society* (Dublin, 1954), by Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., *IHS,* XI (1959), 226-231.

[25] These names are given by Tírechán in the *Book of Armagh,* fol. 9r, p. 8. *Cothirthiacus* is a corrupt Latin form of Old Irish *Cothrige.* In the *Confessio,* Patrick simply writes: "Ego Patricius peccator" and in the *Epistola,* "Patricius indoctus."

[26] In the *Confessio* we read *Bannauem Taburniae,* which Bieler in *LLSP,* p. 53, has reconstructed in the form *Bannaventa Taburniae,* which he later rendered as *Bannavem Taburniae* in *The Works of St. Patrick, ACW* (Westminster, 1953), XVII, 21. The problem of identifying this place name is almost insoluble.

[27] The only two place names mentioned in the *Confessio* are *Bannauem Taburniae* and *Silva Vocluti.* The latter, probably near the west coast of Ireland, "quae est prope mare occidentale," is possibly Killala, County Mayo. Cf. Bieler, "The Problem of Silva Focluti," *IHS,* III (1942-43), 351-360.

[28] Actually *Confessio,* xviii-xx, is silent about the country in which Patrick landed after his escape from Ireland. That it was Gaul is almost unanimously admitted. Bieler, *LLSP,* p. 61, dates the arrival of St. Patrick in Gaul in the spring of 407. Eoin MacNeill, *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland* (London, 1934), places it somewhat later in 407. Bury, *op. cit.,* p. 338, holds for 411-412, whereas Grosjean, *AB,* LIV (1936), 197, thinks that the period posterior to

the sojourn at Lérins[29] and Auxerre, consecration by St. Germanus in 432,[30] the sudden death of Palladius followed by Patrick's return to Ireland in the same year, his apostolate throughout the kingdoms of Ireland, broken in 441-443 by a visit to Pope Leo I in Rome,[31] the foundation of the primatial See of Armagh in 444,[32] his death in 461 at Saul, and his burial at Dún Lethglasse. Bury's Patrick is one Patrick, the St. Patrick of Armagh, the one apostle of Ireland and the one national patriarch. All indications of a second Patrick were neglected by him as irrelevant to the force and the continuity of the Patrician tradition that St. Patrick is one historical person.

The most stimulating, if not the most important, contribution to Patrician scholarship since the appearance of Bury's great work was made by Professor Thomas F. O'Rahilly of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. In a well known lecture on "Palladius and Patrick,"[33] delivered at Trinity College, Dublin, on March 20, 1942, O'Rahilly resurrected the "Two Patricks" theory in the sense that he considered Palladius and Patricius to be one and the same person, Sen Phátraic, the apostle of Ireland, who arrived there in 431 and died in 461. His successor, the mysterious Patrick II, the author of the *Confessio* and the *Epistola,* reached Ireland about 461 and died there about 492.[34]

The difficult chronological problems, which the Irish Annals pose, lead O'Rahilly to the general conclusion that the traditional St.

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the summer of 407, perhaps even late 409, is better suited to the desperate state of affairs in the Gaul which Patrick describes. Those who hold "Two Patricks" advance all these dates by about thirty years.

[29] Despite Bury, *op. cit.,* pp. 37-41, Bieler, "Vindiciae Patricianae," *IER,* LXXIX (1953), 171-173, has shown that "the Lérins episode . . . must be given up." Patrick J. Brophy, "St. Patrick's Other Island," *IER,* LXXV (1951), 243-246, and surprisingly Thomas F. O'Rahilly, *The Two Patricks* (Dublin, 1957), accepts it.

[30] Unfortunately, St. Patrick does not tell us at what time, in what place, or by whom he was ordained and consecrated. Bieler, *op. cit.,* pp. 173 f., interprets Muir-chú's enigmatic statement about Patrick's ordination by St. Amatorex (Amator?) as a reference to his ordination in the basilica of St. Amator by St. Germanus.

[31] Bury, *op. cit.,* pp. 150-154, 367-369.

[32] Cf. n. 78 *infra.*

[33] Thomas F. O'Rahilly, *The Two Patricks. A Lecture on the History of Christianity in Fifth-Century Ireland* (Dublin, 1957).

[34] *Ibid.,* p. 8.

Patrick was a composite person, Palladius (Sen Phátraic) and Patricius (Patrick II) rolled into one. "It was inevitable that, with the lapse of time, the two homonymous missionaries should become confounded."[35] The two obits for Patrick, 461 and 492 (493), separated by thirty years, suggest two persons of that name.[36] Certainly there was no justification for the general opinion that the author of the *Confessio* died in 461. Further, the Annals, which speak of the disciples of St. Patrick, e.g., Maucteus or Mochta (d. 535), *discipulus Sancti Patricii,* who lived almost eighty years after the traditional date of his death, show the utter impossibility of solving the chronological problems raised by the Mono-Patrician position.[37] O'Rahilly believed that these problems could be solved, or at least diminished, on the hypothesis of "Two Patricks." He further believed that this hypothesis, if accepted, could well serve as a point of co-ordination for the history of the Church in fifth-century Ireland.

But the question remains: how did the second Patrick achieve supremacy over Palladius? How was the composite Patrick actually formed? The answer to this lies in a correct evaluation of the early Irish sources. The Annals report the arrival of Palladius in Ireland in 431. About the time and circumstances of his departure they are virtually silent. Under the year 432 the Annals of Inisfallen contain the notice: *Palladius episcopus Hiberniam tenet atque Scotos babtizare inchoat,* a statement which, according to O'Rahilly, represented "an Irish annalistic way of saying 'Patricius is head of the Irish Church.' "[38] In placing Palladius under the year 431, the Annals show their dependence on Prosper's *Chronicon,* while the reference to Patrick under the year 432 is of native Irish origin. The distinction of Palladius from Patricius is due to the later annalists,[39] who misinterpreted the testimony of the early Annals reflected in the Book of Armagh.[40] But the most influential factor in the preservation of this distinction which despoiled Palladius to enrich Patrick was the Church of Armagh. It was to her unique advantage to exalt the *paruchia sancti Patricii* at the expense of all Ireland; and this she did, resting her

[35] *Ibid.,* p. 11.
[36] *Ibid.*
[37] *Ibid.,* pp. 6 f.
[38] Bieler, *Traditio,* VI (1948), 8 f., does not accept this interpretation. For him, *Hiberniam tenet* means that "he (Patrick) lands in Ireland."
[39] O'Rahilly, *op. cit.,* p. 12.
[40] *Ibid.,* pp. 12 f.

claims principally on her foundation by Patrick, the author of the *Confessio* and the Apostle of Ireland.[41]

According to O'Rahilly, the history of the fifth-century Irish Church can be divided into three well defined temporal segments: first, the period before 431, during which Christianity was being slowly introduced into Ireland; second, the period from 431 to 461, the apostolate of Palladius (Sen Phátraic), the dominance of the Gallic element in the Irish Church; and third, the period between 461 and 491, the apostolate of Patrick II, the predominance of the British element. By a careful sifting of all available evidence, O'Rahilly tried to establish from philological and historical arguments the existence in the fifth-century Irish Church of two racial strands, the Gallic and the British, which, he supposed, stemmed from Palladius the Continental and Patrick the Briton. "The Palladius missionaries were Gauls and Italians, and they brought Ireland into direct contact with the Continent; whereas the later Patrick and his fellow-workers were Britons."[42]

Perhaps, the most original element in the O'Rahilly thesis is his development of the linguistic argument from Latin loan words incorporated into Old Irish. These early fifth-century loan words show Gallic influence operating through the continental pronunciation of Latin, while the later loan words suggest the influence of British Latinity. "The true distinction between the two types of words is not so much that they came into Irish at different periods, as that the missionaries who introduced them belonged to two groups, who differed from each other in their pronunciation of Latin."[43] The two racial characteristics revealed in these words suggest the early influence of Palladius (Sen Phátraic) followed by the later influence of Patrick II in the second half of the century.[44] This conclusion is further confirmed by the use of two clerical tonsures in Old Ireland: the Roman (continental), stemming from Palladius (Sen Phátraic), and the British (insular) from Patrick II; and by two sets of Easter

[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 13 f.
[42] *Ibid.*, p. 40.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 42.
[44] O'Rahilly's linguistic argument has generally been forsaken. Cf. F. Shaw, S.J., "The Linguistic Argument for Two Patricks," *Studies*, XXXII (1943), 315-322, and Kenneth Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain* (Edinburgh, 1953).

computus: the Roman at an early date in the fifth century and the British in the latter part of the century. Because the influence of Patrick II is supposed to have followed that of Palladius (Sen Phátraic), it was the British element that ultimately prevailed over the Roman in the early Irish Church characterizing and coloring her subsequent history.[45]

O'Rahilly did not discover a totally new solution of the Patrician problem. Rather he refined the theories of his predecessors of all their curious, eccentric, and uncritical features, re-examined the evidence, especially the important Irish Annals, posed anew the *status quaestionis*, and rehandled the whole problem in the light of a century of research. Characteristic of his method is an extraordinary ability of comprehension, synthesis, and reduction of the Patrician source material to unity and order. A colleague evaluated his work as "one of the most brilliant papers ever written on a point of Irish history."[46]

Though the O'Rahilly thesis on the "Two Patricks" has not been widely accepted, it has not died. It has been restudied, revised, and extended in new directions by Professor James Carney[47] of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, whose *point de départ*, the impossibility of reconciling the chronology of the Irish Annals with the traditional biography of St. Patrick, is essentially that of O'Rahilly. Though their conclusions only partially coincide, Carney refers to himself as "the only active exponent of O'Rahilly's views,"[48] for he continues to work in his spirit. Far from confounding Palladius and Patrick, this author distinguishes them carefully and even holds that Palladius was neither called Patrick nor resided in Ireland. He further believes that the linguistic argument is irrelevant to the Patrician problem.[49]

According to Professor Carney, the celebrated passage in Prosper's *Chronicon*: "Ad Scottos in Christum credentes ordinatus a papa Caelestino Palladius primus episcopus mittitur," means that Palladius was sent in 431 by Pope Celestine to Scotia, North Britain, and not

[45] O'Rahilly, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 ff.

[46] Gerard Murphy, "The Two Patricks," *Studies*, XXXII (1943), 302.

[47] James Carney, "Patrick and the Kings," *SILH* (Dublin, 1955), pp. 324-373.

[48] Carney, "Comments on the Present State of the Patrician Problem," *IER*, XCII (1959), 1-28, pp. 1, 4.

[49] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

to Hibernia, Ireland. Prosper's *Scotti* are not Patrick's *Hiberionaci*. The *Scotti* were "the Irish people whose chief city was Emain Macha, or else, but less likely, . . . that section of the Irish people who had established colonies in Britain."[50] The *Scotti* were detested. The *Hiberionaci* were loved by the author of the *Confessio* and the *Epistola*. He is "episcopus in Hiberione." He hears the "vox Hiberionacum" and goes "ad Hibernas gentes." He says that hatred is directed against him and his people because they are "Hiberionaci." "To Patrick the *Scotti* were a people of ill repute whom he mentally associated with the Picts."[51] The general impression is clear. He is tender to the one, hostile to the other.[52]

Professor Carney also gives a new interpretation to the important passage in Prosper's *Contra Collatorem*,[53] where Pope Celestine is praised for having kept the Roman island Catholic and having made the barbarian island Christian. "Romanam insulam studet servare catholicam, fecit etiam barbaram Christianam." According to the traditional interpretation of these words, Prosper is praising the foresight of Pope Celestine in sending Bishop Germanus to Pelagian Britannia and Bishop Palladius to pagan Hibernia. In light of what we know of fifth-century Britain, Professor Carney believes that Prosper is not speaking here of two islands, but of one island, Britannia, whose southern part (Roman) was kept Catholic by Germanus, and whose northern part (British) was made Catholic by Palladius. "The fact that Irish tradition invariably associates Palladius with Britain, particularly with the north, supports this view."[54]

Palladius, therefore, played no role in the formation of the Old Irish Church. It is rather the Italian bishop, Secundinus (Sechnall),[55] who was the great apostle of Ireland and the true founder of Armagh,

[50] Carney, *SILH*, p. 406. In "A New Chronology of the Saint's Life," *TDL*, p. 31, he wrote: "I have no doubt now that he (Prosper) meant a people of modern Scotland."

[51] Carney, *SILH*, p. 406.

[52] Carney, "A New Chronology," pp. 31 f.

[53] *Contra Collatorem*, 21, 2 (*PL*, LI, 271BC).

[54] Carney, "A New Chronology," p. 32.

[55] According to Carney, *SILH*, pp. 399-402, the hymn of Secundinus on St. Patrick, *Audite omnes*, has "characteristics of forgery" perpetrated possibly *ca.* 550 in the same locale which produced the spurious *Liber Angueli* (*ca.* 550-600). Both documents are tendentious exaltations of the antiquity and supremacy of the St. Patrick of Armagh. Cf. n. 72 *infra*.

a Church of pronounced Roman character. Though Carney grants the possibility that Palladius and Secundinus might be identical, he regards this of no great importance. "If my argument as to the meaning of *Scotti* is rejected with good reason I would then regard Secundinus as either Palladius or his successor."[56] Secundinus is conceived as arriving in Ireland in 433, the year noted in the Annals as *Conversio Scottorum,* labored there for fourteen years, founded Armagh in 444, and was succeeded in 447 by Benignus. Patrick's arrival is dated April 5, 456, twenty-four years after the commencement of the conversion of Ireland. The year 432, traditionally assigned as the date of Patrick coming, must be expunged from the annals.[57] Likewise the name of Patrick must be expunged from the episcopal list of Armagh. "Patrick was never bishop of Armagh. . . . The primitive list of the bishops of Armagh reads like nonsense until we remove the theoretical Patrick or Patricks of 432-457/461 as well as the real Patrick of the second part of the fifth century. . . . Patrick had no connection whatsoever with the see of Armagh."[58]

Among the authentic writings of St. Patrick is the remarkable letter, directed by the saint to the Roman soldiers of Coroticus,[59] in solemn condemnation of the abduction and enslavement of the Irish Christians, his very own converts. Professor Carney dates this unhappy raid on Ireland in 471[60] and identifies the young presbyter, Maucteus, the "discipulus Sancti Patricii," with the messenger who personally delivered the letter to Coroticus. If, according to the Annals, this Maucteus really died in 535, seventy-four years after the traditional date of Patrick's passing, the chronological difficulty can best be resolved by accepting the year 493 (Wednesday, March 17), as the true obit of Patrick.[61]

[56] Carney, *SILH,* p. 402. Cf. "A New Chronology," p. 33: "Whether or not he (Secundinus) is to be identified with Palladius is comparatively unimportant."

[57] Carney, *SILH,* p. 402.

[58] *Ibid.,* pp. 395, 398.

[59] Almost all Patrician scholars hold the authenticity of the *Epistola ad milites Corotici.* The dispute centers about the date and the full identity of the author.

[60] Carney, "A New Chronology," pp. 28 f.

[61] The reconciliation of the dates of Maucteus with the chronology of the traditional Patrick is only one of the difficult chronological problems with which Professor Carney deals. Cf. *SILH,* pp. 324-373.

In the Carney solution of the Patrician problem, there is one Palladius, one Secundinus, and one Patrick. The two obits, 461 and 493, are not "a reflection of two separate identities but a chronological confusion" due to a desire to incorporate the Palladian date 431 into the Patrician tradition. "The Patrick who died in 461 is nothing more than a chronological phantom."[62] The chronology of Palladius depends on Prosper, the chronology of Patrick on Palladius, the chronology of Ireland on Patrick.[63]

This brief description of Professor Carney's position does not present a complete picture of the scholarship, method, and research on which his work rests. This can only be fully appreciated by reading the many fine studies which he has devoted to this subject. His scholarly work in this specialized field of concentration is far too important to be passed over lightly or simply dismissed. Certainly the continuation of this highly interesting debate on the Patrician problem, if motivated by an honest desire to find the truth and constructed on sound scholarship, will vastly augment our knowledge of Old Irish history and literature, even if it does not fully solve the central problem at issue.

Characteristic of the method which underlies most of the "Two Patrick" theories is a pronounced tendency to explain the known by the unknown, to interpret Patrick in terms of Palladius, to promote the latter at the expense of the former. From the viewpoint of the historical sources of the Old Irish period, Palladius is an almost unknown quantity. Neither the place nor the time of his birth and death have been established. If our knowledge of him depended solely on native Irish sources, it would be safe to say that he would scarcely be a factor in the problem which we are discussing here. For it is a fact that there is no solid Palladius tradition in Irish history. Though Prosper reports that he arrived in Ireland in 431, after that date he seems to have vanished from the dimensions of history, save for some highly obscure references to his apostolate in Leinster, his martyrdom in Ireland, and the transference of his relics to Fordun.[64]

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 339.

[63] According to Professor Carney the tendency of the Irish Annals is to synchronize all fifth-century Irish history about Patrick, a tendency which the traditionalists regard as proof of the supremacy and unity of St. Patrick in the Irish consciousness.

[64] For a critical examination of the history and legend of Palladius, cf. Bieler, *Traditio,* VI (1948), 1-31.

Further, the fact that there is no known Palladian see in the Irish Church is, indeed, surprising in view of the fact that he is supposed to have labored in Ireland as a bishop with papal mandate for thirty years.[65]

Though the Latin name, Patricius, took firm root in Old Irish from an early date, the name Palladius seems never to have been incorporated into this ancient language.[66] In fact, the identity of Patrick and Palladius, insofar as it is a question of documentary evidence, rests only on a remark of Tírechán: "Palladius qui alio nomine Patricius appellabatur." But this late, uncertain reference, depending on a tradition, which has never been fully justified, is of questionable value. If by the time of Tírechán, Palladius were universally known as Patricius, we should expect the reference to Patricius to be direct and the reference to Palladius oblique, e.g., *Patricius, qui alio nomine Palladius appellabatur*.[67]

While the history of Palladius is obscurely known, the *Confessio* and *Epistola,* which constitute St. Patrick the first littérateur in Ireland,[68] offer us very valuable insights into the religious and psychological background of the saint. Unfortunately they yield precious little concrete information about the historical events of his life. Not a single date, e.g., is given; and the two place names, *Bannaventa Taburniae,* and *Silva Vocluti,* the five personal names, *Calpurnius, Potitus, Victoricus, Designatus* and *Coroticus,* have only served by their obscurity to render the whole Patrician problem more acute.

[65] Against this argument, Murphy, *Studies,* XXXII (1943), 304, alleges the analogy of St. Boniface, who had no episcopal see in the Frankish empire until the closing years of his life. But the fact should not be overlooked that St. Boniface, as primate of Germany, did have a see.

[66] E.g., *Coithrighe* and older *Quathriche.* Those who hold "Two Patricks" contend that Palladius is remembered under the Old Irish form of his Latin name, *Patricius.*

[67] For a discussion of this difficult problem, cf. Bieler, "Was Palladius Surnamed Patricius?" *Studies,* XXXII (1943), 323-326; *idem, Traditio,* VI (1948), 8; *idem, IER,* LXXIX (1953), 164; *idem, LLSP,* pp. 84-85; P. Grosjean, S.J., "S. Patrice d'Irlande et quelques Homonymes. Appendix: Palladius . . . qui et Patricius fuit," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* I (1950), 169-171.

[68] For a new approach to the problem of the unique text of the *Confessio* in the Book of Armagh, cf. P. Grosjean, S.J., "The Confession of Saint Patrick," *TDL,* pp. 81-94.

But the chief value of the testimony of these two venerable literary monuments of the early Irish Church is that they present Patrick the bishop in the role of unique Apostle of Ireland. It is God Himself who called Patrick to this apostolate, prepared him for it, co-operated, confirmed, and sustained him in it.[69] As St. Paul heard the *vox Gentium,* St. Patrick heard the *vox Hiberionacum:* "We ask thee, boy, come and walk among us once more!" "Thanks be to God," says St. Patrick, "after many years the Lord gave to them according to their cry."[70]

Apart from his own writings, the earliest witness to St. Patrick is the celebrated *Hymnus Sancti Patricii Magister Scottorum,* reputed to be the work of St. Secundinus (Sechnall), probably composed in the fifth century, possibly during the saint's lifetime. This beautiful little hymn, while scarcely a source for the saint's biography, is a unique expression of the exaltation of St. Patrick in the Old Irish Church.[71] In the following citation, the third strophe of the hymn, the poet tells us that St. Patrick is to Ireland what Peter is to the universal Church:[72]

Constans in Dei timore
Et fide immobilis
Super quem aedificatur
Ut Petrum ecclesia
Cuiusque apostolatum
A Deo sortitus est
In cuius portae adversum
Inferni non prevalent.

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[69] John Ryan, S.J., *IER,* LX (1942), 244-246, and Murphy, *Studies,* XXXII (1943), 304-306.

[70] On the basis of an analysis of the *Confessio,* D. S. Nerney, S.J., "A Study of St. Patrick's Sources," *IER,* LXXI (1949), 497-507; LXXII (1949), 14-26, 97-110, 265-280, has discovered striking parallels between St. Paul and the Corinthians, and St. Patrick and the Irish.

[71] It is highly probable, if not certain, that this hymn dates from the fifth century and may have been actually composed by Secundinus (d. 447) some time between the *Confessio* and the *Epistola.* Cf. Bieler, *The Works of St. Patrick, ACW* (Westminster, 1953), XVII, 57-65, and P. Grosjean, S.J., "Notes d'hagiographie celtique, 10," *AB,* LXII (1945), 111.

[72] *The Antiphonary of Bangor,* II, edited by Frederick E. Warren, *HBS* (London, 1895), X, 14; Bieler, *The Works of St. Patrick,* p. 61.

Approximately 150 to 200 years after the death of St. Patrick, Cummianus,[73] Abbot of Durrow, writing about 632 (633?) to Segene, Abbot of Iona, and to Beccan the recluse, on the calculation of Easter, mentioned among the systems at variance with the current Irish method "illum quem sanctus Patricius, papa noster, tulit et fecit." The same tradition is echoed in the Book of Durrow[74] (c. 650-700) where in the colophon, which may represent a direct transcription of the writings of St. Colmcille (c. 600), we read: "Rogo beatitudinem tuam, sancte praesbiter Patrici, . . ." A close parallel, found in the Antiphonary of Bangor (c. 680), at the end of the hymn cited above, is in the form of an invocation, "Patricius Episcopus oret pro nobis."[75]

In the Book of Armagh, Tírechán reports that he worked "ex ore vel libro Ultani episcopi," his master, from a source, therefore, which can be safely placed in the second half of the seventh century,[76] for we know that about this time Ultán was Bishop of Ard-mBrecáin.[77] Tírechán testifies not only to one Patrick, the founder of the *paruchia Sancti Patricii,* but places his obit 436 years from the passion of Christ. It is also in the seventh century that we find the first concrete expression of the claims of the *paruchia Sancti Patricii* whose primatial seat is found at Ard-Macha.[78]

In view of the collective testimony of the seventh-century sources to one national apostle, the silence of important Hiberno-Latin authors such as Cogitosus (c. 600), Columbanus (d. 615) and Adamnanus (d. 704),[79] or even of Jonas of Orleans (d. c. 642) and Bede (d. 735) is surprising, though not altogether problematic. For the fifth and sixth centuries witnessed not only the beginning of historical consciousness in the Irish people, now under the formative influence of

[73] Cummianus, *De controversia paschali* (*PL,* LXXXVII, 975C7). Cf. on Cummianus, Kenney, *op. cit.,* no. 57, pp. 220 f.

[74] Kenney, *op. cit.,* no. 455, pp. 630-631.

[75] *The Antiphonary of Bangor,* II, 16.

[76] *Book of Armagh,* fol. 9r, p. 8.

[77] Cf. on Ultán, Kenney, *op. cit.,* no. 127, pp. 329-331.

[78] Tomás O'Fiaich, "St. Patrick and Armagh," *IER,* LXXXIX (1958), 153-170. Cf. Carney's criticism of this study in *IER,* XCII (1959), 8-14.

[79] Adamnanus mentions Patrick in the *Secunda Praefatio:* "Brito, homo sanctus, sancti Patricii episcopi discipulus, Maucteus nomine. . . ." Cf. William Reeves, *The Life of St. Columba* (Dublin, 1857), p. 6. There are still some unsolved problems on the relation of this preface to the work, as originally composed.

Christianity, but also the exaltation of St. Patrick within the frame of Irish history, now under the influence of his growing *cultus*. The fact is that the number of historical writings which have descended to us from this period is relatively insignificant. But of considerable importance is the consideration that the one *Patricius episcopus* of the *Confessio* harmonizes with the Patricius of which the sources of the seventh century speak. This Patrick is one person, unrivalled by any other of the same name. The "Two Patricks" seem to emerge only in the following century.

The difficulties, occasioned by the Annals, cannot be ignored nor minimized, for these documents are important sources for the Patrician question which in many respects is chronological.[80] Even apart from the problem considered in this paper, the Annals are difficult sources to handle. Everyone who has worked with them knows that the obvious obscurity and confusion inherent in them should be a warning to the research scholar to be prudent in deriving conclusions from them. It is evident that the compilers of these documents worked from conflicting source material[81] and often based their chronology on a number of widely different computations.[82] It is also clear that the manuscript tradition of these works is very late, and hence open to much corruption in the course of transmission, especially where there is question of transcription of numbers. The earliest manuscript of the Annals dates from the twelfth century—almost 800 years from St. Patrick's day and 400 years from the date of their composition.[83]

It would not, however, be methodologically sound to reject the testimony of these valuable records because of the profound difficulties which are involved in them.[84] But it is important to note that the unanimous testimony of the Annals is that St. Patrick arrived in

[80] Carney, "A New Chronology," p. 24: "All difficulties concerning Patrick hinge upon his chronology."

[81] The conflict within the sources used by the author or compiler of the Annals of Ulster is indicated by such expressions as "secundum quosdam," "secundum alios" or "alii libri dicunt," etc.

[82] E.g., computation on the basis of the Incarnation, Redemption, the systems of Jerome, Dionysius, Victorius.

[83] Bieler, *LLSP*, pp. 80-81.

[84] O'Rahilly, *op. cit.*, p. 7: "I knew the Irish annals sufficiently well to realize that, when there is no evidence of later interpolation, they are the safest and most trustworthy guide that we possess."

432, the traditional year. The weight of evidence falls toward this date; and, the synchronism of all Irish chronology about this date shows that it was regarded as the center of gravity of Irish Church history. It was in truth an epoch-making event in Irish Christianity.[85]

The second set of obits argues only to the existence of another Patrick, not to another St. Patrick in the sense in which Irish history has traced its origins from its first apostle. A plurality of names constitutes no problem in the history of the Irish Church. Douglas Hyde[86] reported that "there were no less than twenty-two saints of the name Colum . . . fourteen St. Brendans . . . twenty-five St. Ciarans, and fifteen St. Brigits." The wonder is that early Irish history has produced so few Patricks. Outside of the "Two Patricks" of which there has been question here, we have scarcely any concrete information of any other Irish Patrick until the days of the well known Bishop Patrick (1074-1084) who lived six centuries later.

But who this "other Patrick," the so-called Patrick II, might be, cannot be established clearly from the available sources. It is not certain whether he was Irish or not, or whether he ever visited Ireland. If this "other Patrick" existed in fact, it is likely that he came from the circle of St. Patrick, the saintly Apostle of Ireland, and that he worked as an ardent disciple of his great namesake. This hypothesis, though not supported by important evidence, would explain the double obits and the reference to "Two Patricks" in the late eighth- and ninth-century sources. It is not inconceivable that after the silent fifth and sixth centuries the historians who undertook the history of the origins of Christianity in this island confused these two historical persons.

At the end of this long, complex discussion of the Patrician problem I should like to quote the passage from the *Confessio* where St. Patrick writes: "Although I am imperfect in many things, I nevertheless wish that my brethren and kinsmen should know what sort of person I am, so that they may understand my heart's desire."[87] But 1500 years after the death of this blessed saint and maker of history, a man in so many ways simple, candid, sincere, we still do not fully know "what sort of person" he really was. Despite the labor

[85] Bieler, *LLSP*, p. 84.

[86] Douglas Hyde, *A Literary History of Ireland* (London, 1910), p. 136, n. 1.

[87] *Confessio*, vi: "Tamen etsi in multis imperfectus sum opto fratribus et cognatis meis scire qualitatem meam, ut possint perspicere votum animae meae."

of scholars, he remains an enigma, hidden in the mist of ancient history, clouded by the eulogy of generations, enshrined in the legend of his people.[88]

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[88] In conclusion I should like to mention James Carney's *The Problem of St. Patrick*, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (Dublin, 1961), which appeared too recently to have been included in this study. It has already been reviewed by Cathal O'Shannon in the Dublin *Evening Press* (June 23, 1961), and by Ludwig Bieler in the *Irish Times* (July 1, 1961). The latter's conclusion is worth citing in full: "Carney pleads that his theory ought to be taken as a working hypothesis and be given a fair trial. This seems fair enough, on one preliminary condition: that all Patrician sources are to be critically re-edited, interpreted and analysed—preferably with no eye on the Patrick question. In such an endeavour I would gladly join."

CONVERTING THE CATHOLICS: AMERICAN BENEVOLENT SOCIETIES AND THE ANTE-BELLUM CRUSADE AGAINST THE CHURCH

By

Clifford S. Griffin*

In the early years of the nineteenth century, thousands of American Protestants viewed the United States as a vast battleground on which the warriors of God clashed with the forces of Satan. In the vanguard of the Protestant army of the Lord were the officers of five great interdenominational organizations: the American Bible Society, the American Tract Society, the American Education Society, the American Sunday School Union, and the American Home Missionary Society. Against them, the officers claimed, stood a host of sinners, and mighty in that host were the cohorts of Roman Catholicism. In their crusade against the Catholic Church, the leaders of the societies were participants in a massive national campaign. But they gave anti-Catholicism a dimension which otherwise it might have lacked, and a significance which historians have generally neglected. Anti-Catholicism had meaning only when included within the broader context of the drive for the complete moral regeneration of a sinful nation. The attack on the Catholic Church was only one part of the struggle to establish the Protestant Kingdom of God on earth.

The leaders of the five societies attacked the Church as a device of the devil, but they were always careful to distinguish the agents of the Church—the clergy—from the laity. The officers claimed that church members were ignorant sinners, duped by the sophistry and lies of their clerical masters, but that was the worst that could be said of them. They certainly were no worse than other sinners in their refusal to heed the message of the Protestant gospel. Thus the solution to the problem of Catholicism was the same as the solution to the problem of sin in general: convert the Catholics to Protestant righteousness by persuading them of their errors and showing them the better way. The societies consistently labored to win converts, not to antagonize men whom they deemed misguided. At a time when lesser opponents were content to heap virulence atop vulgarity

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in damning Catholic and Catholicism alike, the officers eschewed such meanness of spirit. Instead, they attempted to apply their ideas of Christian charity to a complex question.

The concept of applied charity was the foundation of all the organizations. But charity has ever been a general idea, interpreted by different generations in different ways. The charity expressed in the activities of the societies was compounded of two of the more important religious notions of the age, stewardship to God, and benevolence to man. Stewardship was a tradition as old as Christianity, but it was bequeathed directly to men of the nineteenth century mainly by colonial Calvinists. John Calvin's disciples had stressed that the Elect of God had an inescapable duty to Him to mold their communities in accord with the Lord's will. Therefore, they attempted to regulate their neighbors' lives through moral suasion and the power of the state. They were the stewards of heavenly ordinances, responsible to the Almighty alone.

Although the heirs of the stewardship tradition were as zealous as their forebears in their trust, they faced stupendous problems which their predecessors had not known. Colonial stewards had seldom looked beyond the boundaries of their own provinces, but their legatees were citizens of a nation who saw sin on a national scale. Hordes of their countrymen were flagrantly ignoring the dictates of morality, and in addition were boldly electing to state and national office men with other and opposite traditions. The first amendment to the United States Constitution seemed to make impossible the continued rule of the righteous. Temporarily frustrated and perplexed, the stewards searched for new means to promote universal morality and came up with national societies designed to persuade sinners to obey God's commands as the stewards interpreted them. In the years between 1815 and 1826, laymen and clergymen of several Protestant denominations, but most of them Presbyterians and Congregationalists, formed the Education Society to subsidize indigent ministerial students, and the Home Missionary Society to help sustain penurious pastors. They began the Bible Society to publish and circulate the King James Version of Holy Writ, the Sunday School Union to establish Sabbath classes and to issue religious and moral books for children, and the Tract Society to provide similar works for adults.[1]

[1] The Education Society was formed in Boston, August, 1815; the Bible Society in New York, May, 1816; the Sunday School Union in Philadelphia,

For the stewards, the exercise of their responsibility was the highest form of Christian benevolence. All of them believed that the kindest thing they could do for other men was to induce them to forswear sin and thus become worthy of receiving God's grace. Millions of Americans were "thronging the road to death, without any messenger of mercy to point them to Jesus, the only Savior," argued the officers of the Tract Society in a typical statement.

> The expansive spirit of the age, and all that is truly benevolent in the heart of the Christian, and all that is tender and compassionate in the great sacrifice made for man by our Divine Redeemer on the cross, all that is heart-rending in the heedless rush of unnumbered multitudes to eternal ruin, and all that is grateful to the heart in being the instrument of conveying spiritual blessings to the perishing—all these considerations urge the Society to press onward. . . .[2]

As a part of their benevolent program, the stewards sought to eradicate Catholicism from the land. Always, however, they tried to do so by showing Catholics the alleged enormity of their transgression rather than by fostering a national frenzy of hatred, by welcoming Catholics to what was described as a free land where they could escape ecclesiastical bondage rather than by opposing immigration.

The societies, to be sure, published anti-Catholic preachments which were distinctly vile. Catholicism possessed "ten thousand cunning artifices by which it enfeebles, darkens, chains and destroys the mind of man, cheats the conscience out of existence, and the soul out of immortal life."[3] The Church was the "great harlot of Babylon," an

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May, 1824; the Tract Society in New York, May, 1825; and the Home Missionary Society in New York, May, 1826. For the history of these and other societies expressing in action the idea of stewardship, cf. Clifford S. Griffin, *Their Brothers' Keepers: Moral Stewardship in the United States, 1800-1865* (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1960).

[2] American Tract Society, *Annual Report,* I (1826), 19-20. Cf. also, *Proceedings of a Meeting of the Citizens of New-York and Others, Convened in the City-Hall on the 13th of May, 1816, at the Request of the Board of Managers of the American Bible Society; with the Speeches of George Griffin and Peter A. Jay, Esqrs. Delivered on the Occasion* (New York, 1816), 9-15; American Education Society, *Annual Report,* XVII (1833), 26, 65; American Home Missionary Society, *Report,* VIII (1834), 9-10; American Sunday School Union, *Annual Report,* X (1834), 24-26.

[3] American Education Society, *Annual Report,* XX (1836), 60.

"abominable evil" which killed souls.[4] The clergy detested the advance of knowledge, denied their subjects the right to read the Bible, and even attempted to forbid them to think.[5] Under a "cloak of sanctity, and with the guidance of a corrupt priesthood, ambition, avarice and sensuality" prowled the "courts of the Lord." Romanism was as evil as utter atheism, and both were "ravening wolves."[6]

There were two significant points about such statements. First, these and similar remarks were directed at the Church rather than at individual Catholics. Second, they bespoke something more fundamental than a mere viciousness of mind on the part of the societies' officers. They were an effort to pry open the purses of faithful but frugal Protestants who already disliked Catholicism. The prosperity of the Education and Home Missionary societies depended entirely on donations. Although the Sunday School Union and the Bible and Tract societies received thousands of dollars annually from the sales of their publications, their need for gifts was always great. Each organization, moreover, was competing against all the others for the contributions of Protestant churchmen, and spokesmen regularly magnified the evils which faced their society to demonstrate its financial wants. Fiscal necessity combined with the conventional hyperbolic idiom of the era to produce statements of apparent rancor.

In May, 1843, the Reverend George B. Cheever told the members of the Bible Society, assembled in New York in annual conclave, that the Catholic Church had prospered because it refused to let its members read the Scriptures. "In the absence of the word of God," Cheever intoned, the seeds of superstition "grew from green blades . . . into strong, overshadowing, black oaks; and the world, like swine in autumn, were driven by the priests into the wilderness, to fatten on the acorns. For ages you could hear nothing in the world but the champing of swine in the wilderness of Romanism." There was method in Cheever's malice. He spoke to people who by their membership in the Society demonstrated that they agreed with him. He had no interest in stimulating an orgy of malignity. His purpose, as he went on to explain, was to emphasize the need of the Society

[4] *Extracts from Correspondence of the American Bible Society*, No. 49 (September, 1842), 585.

[5] American Tract Society, *Annual Report*, XXI (1846), 88.

[6] American Sunday School Union, *Annual Report*, XXVI (1850), 36-37; American Home Missionary Society, *Report*, XXIX (1855), 82.

for more money; indeed, he was speaking in support of a resolution urging greater gifts to the Society to be used in issuing more Protestant Bibles.[7] Before the Education Society in 1835 the Reverend John Spaulding of Cincinnati described the Church as the "Roman *abomination of desolation*," and argued that it was attempting to control the vast Mississippi Valley. The idea was even then quite familiar to his listeners. Instead of elaborating on it, Spaulding soon closed with an appeal for funds.[8] The Home Missionary Society denounced the Pope as a tyrant and the Jesuits as emissaries of Satan, but the officers made such statements only to remind Protestants that the triumph over sin was still to be won, and that the Christian army traveled on its pocketbooks.[9] Verbal chastisements were always a preamble to a much more important message. No society ever let an anti-Catholic statement stand alone as a beacon to the spiteful.

No society ever let an anti-Catholic statement stand alone under any circumstances. The officers were diligent in providing catalogues of sins to demonstrate the size of the task which lay before them. Catholicism was neither the greatest nor the least in their concern. In October, 1842, for example, the Tract Society held a huge three-day rally in New York's Broadway Tabernacle to encourage contributions. Both the Society's leaders and men invited to address the gathering declaimed that the publications of the organization would help to conquer Catholicism, but they prophesied a like victory over the equally reprehensible sins of atheism, drunkenness, prostitution, profanity, and nonobservance of the Sabbath. In a rather startling statement, the Reverend Russell S. Cook, a secretary of the Society, said that there was probably as high a proportion of sinners among native Americans as among immigrant Catholics.[10] In other years other men noted that sin had a far wider scope than Catholicism alone: it ranged from "moderate Socinianism down through Campbellism, Deism, Mormonism, to blank and downright Atheism"; Protestants had to

[7] American Bible Society, *Annual Report*, XXVII (1843), 100-104.
[8] American Education Society, *Annual Report*, XIX (1835), 62.
[9] *Home Missionary*, XV (July, November, 1842), 55-56, 145-158.
[10] New York *Observer*, October 29, November 5, 1842; *Proceedings of a Public Deliberative Meeting of the Board and Friends of the American Tract Society, Held in the Broadway Tabernacle, New-York, October 25, 26 and 27, 1842; Together with the Documents Presented, and the Sermon Preached on That Occasion* (New York, 1842), *passim*.

battle the "errors of Popery and Rationalism and Socialism, and every other wild ism and vile ism."[11] The Sunday School Union asserted flatly that secular prosperity and the scramble for wealth fostered greater evils than imported religions.[12] In 1845 the executive committee of the Home Missionary Society described the Gospel as the only dike against a sea of sins—lust, religious infidelity, blasphemy and obscenity, Catholicism, gambling, the lures of the theater, the corruption of law and justice, the pollution of the home, and "terror, crime, and woe" generally.[13]

One of the greater problems which the leaders of the benevolent societies faced was convincing the American people that the only reliable basis for a free republic was a zealous belief in the godly morality of Protestantism. Here as elsewhere they publicly worried about the influence of Catholicism on an important aspect of national life. Yet here as elsewhere, they put their anti-Catholicism in the context of anti-sin. The usual refrain was rather uninspired. "We are a republic; with no government but that which rests on the will of the people; and which cannot be perpetuated without holiness among the people," declared the Reverend Justin Edwards on behalf of the officers of the Tract Society in 1826. "Some may say, it cannot [be perpetuated] without *public virtue*. But public virtue never did exist, sufficient to perpetuate a republican government over such an extent of country as ours, without holiness, and it never will."[14] Immorality in the electorate begot immorality in officialdom, said the officers of the Education Society, but morally enlightened men chose morally enlightened rulers. Only when such representatives held power was the republic safe.[15] Secretary Absalom Peters of the Home Missionary Society predicted that even the best laws of the wisest men would prove unenforceable unless the common people were pious.[16] In 1845, John McLean, the president of the Sunday School Union as well as an associate justice of the United States Supreme Court, maintained that the "moral power" of the citizenry, based on the

[11] American Tract Society, *Annual Report*, XXI (1846), 5, XXIX (1854), 9.
[12] American Sunday School Union, *Annual Report*, XXI (1845), 5.
[13] American Home Missionary Society, *Report*, XIX (1845), 119-120.
[14] American Tract Society, *Annual Report*, I (1826), 30.
[15] American Education Society, *Annual Report*, X (1826), 11.
[16] Absalom Peters to Richard S. Storrs, New York, March 7, 1834, copy, American Home Missionary Society Papers, Chicago Theological Seminary.

precepts of the Gospel, was the strongest bulwark of American political institutions.[17]

Roman Catholics possessed none of that moral power, according to the stewards of the Lord, and the peculiarities of their religion made them a serious threat to the American system. In 1843 the Reverend Gardiner Spring, a founder of the Bible, Tract, and Home Missionary Societies, asserted that Catholics used the franchise as agents of the Holy See. "If we wake not," he cried, "Rome carries the day. The Republic is lost."[18] Other men argued that all Catholics owed political as well as religious allegiance to a "foreign spiritual despotism," that priests and parochial schools taught children that in their adulthood they should cast their ballots for the benefit of the Church, that the hierarchy worked craftily through unprincipled politicians to capture political control.[19] "Popery" feigned tolerance for American institutions, the Reverend T. V. Moore announced to the Bible Society in 1851. "They say she is tolerant: yes, as the chilled viper is tolerant at the peasant's hearth, until it is warmed into quick and venomous life." The viper bore poison to destroy the body politic.[20]

More frequently than the officers professed their fear of Catholic wiles, however, they proclaimed their fear of all Americans who strayed from the path of virtue into the wilderness of sin. The greatest menace allegedly came from unconverted men beyond the Appalachian Mountains in the Mississippi Valley. In 1830 United States Senator Theodore Frelinghuysen of New Jersey, a vice-president of all the organizations, rose before the Sunday School Union to sound a typical alarm. Four million people were already living in the Great Valley,

[17] John McLean to the Board of Officers and Managers of the American Sunday School Union, Washington, D. C., April 10, 1849, American Sunday School Union, *Annual Report*, XXV (1849), 5-8.

[18] Gardiner Spring, *The Danger and Hope of the American People: A Discourse on the Day of the Annual Thanksgiving, in the State of New-York* (New York, 1843), 21-29.

[19] *General View of Colportage as Conducted by the American Tract Society in the United States, May, 1845* (New York, 1845), 31, 44-45; *Home Missionary*, XIV (April, 1842), 277-282; W. P. Strickland, *History of the American Bible Society, from Its Organization to the Present Time* (New York, 1849), 81.

[20] American Bible Society, *Annual Report*, XXXV (1851), 117-118. Cf. also, *American Quarterly Register*, V (May, 1833), 339; American Sunday School Union, *Annual Report*, XXVII (1851), 15.

he pointed out, and the main questions facing the country were how westerners were going to behave, and how they were going to vote. If righteous easterners spread among them the message of the Gospel, "immense blessings will reward our philanthropy—but should we suffer them to grow on, with no moral culture, floods of wickedness will . . . come over upon us, that will sweep away the last vestiges of hope and freedom."[21] In 1831 an agent of the Bible Society warned his employers that many westerners had left "civilized and religious society for the simple purpose of getting out of its restraints"; twenty-five years later another observer reported that even moral easterners succumbed to the rudeness of the new environment to become men of "violent and barbaric" passions.[22] "In a few years the rod of empire will be held and swayed in that valley," the Reverend Nathaniel S. S. Beman told the supporters of the Home Missionary Society in 1847. "The people who shall be spread over those broad prairies, and settled along those large rivers . . . will govern this country." They must be made moral. "We lose all," Beman thundered, "if we lose the West."[23]

At no time did the officers favor efforts to make America morally pure by sweeping back the waves of immigrants. "The tide is constantly swelling and breaking over us," said Theodore Frelinghuysen in 1841. "We cannot repel it now, if we would. . . ."[24] But the stewards would not, for they believed that the nation needed ever larger numbers of people to increase its economic strength, and they believed as well that God had designed the United States as a haven for oppressed foreigners. "We have a great work to do," declared a Tract Society orator in 1850. "We have forests to clear, and marshes to drain, and mines to quarry, and cities to build. We have canals to dig, and harbors to improve, and roads to make, and telegraphs to construct, and we need the help of these strangers." Such work was beneath the dignity and beyond the bodily might of native Amer-

[21] *American Sunday-School Magazine*, VII (August, 1830), 249-251.

[22] M. Fairfield to John C. Brigham, Prairie Creek, Indiana, May 20, 1831, American Bible Society Papers, American Bible Society, New York City; American Tract Society, *Annual Report*, XXXI (1856), 181-182.

[23] *Home Missionary*, XIX (April, 1847), 285-288. For a more general survey of the efforts of the societies to control the nation's politics, cf. Clifford S. Griffin, "Religious Benevolence as Social Control, 1815-1860," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLIV (December, 1957), 429-435.

[24] *Journal of the American Education Society*, XIV (August, 1841), 9.

icans. Although many immigrants came to the country poor in cash, they nevertheless brought much needed capital in their "strong hands, and stalwart arms, and robust frames."[25] Catholics and other immigrants supplied "a great want of the new world" in their desire and their ability to hasten "the subjection of its rude nature to human use."[26]

America would give much in return—especially freedom from political oppression and release from ecclesiastical tyranny. The societies repeatedly affirmed their deep sympathy for the Catholic laity—"bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh," said the Education Society in 1834, "but covered in midnight darkness, led away by the energy of all evil." In the United States Catholics would be free.[27] Eight years later the executive committee of the Home Missionary Society described immigration as the *"fulfillment of our national destiny. . . .* Let, then, the victims of oppression and of error gather to our shores. Let them come with good or with evil intent; as exiles fleeing from tyranny, or as emissaries to spy out and possess the land—*let them come.* We will meet them on the beach, with bread in one hand, and the Gospel in the other, and welcome them to the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free."[28] The Tract Society limned a sketch of that liberty in the tale of a book agent who had sold a Protestant volume to an Irish Catholic. A priest intervened and ordered the Hibernian to return the book. The man refused. "I am . . . in a free country," he declared; "if you lay a hand on me, it is at your peril. Thank God you have not got me at home, in the bogs of Ireland, where you could have my cabin burned over my head, or have me murdered."[29]

Following the warm reception would come fervent efforts at conversion. "In mere pity" the leaders of the Education Society would "rend away that veil, which covers [Catholics] from the light of heaven. In mere pity we would heave off that enormous load of darkness and absurdity, which is crushing the struggling soul underneath." Every

[25] American Tract Society, *Annual Report,* XXV (1850), 5-8.
[26] *Home Missionary,* XXIX (March, 1857), 254.
[27] *American Quarterly Register,* VII (August, 1834), 58.
[28] American Home Missionary Society, *Report,* XVI (1842), 85.
[29] *Facts Illustrating the Necessity, Method and Results of Colportage, Drawn from the Reports of Colporteurs of the American Tract Society, in the Year Ending March, 1846* (New York, 1846), 12.

Protestant in America, with love in his heart, should labor to change the immigrants.[30]

Nor did the stewards shrink from their task in the 1840's and the 1850's when ship after crowded ship was disgorging multitudes of newcomers on American shores. Almighty God was directing the course of transatlantic migration, said the officers. As His agents, they welcomed foreigners "into the midst of a vigorous, free, apostolic Christendom, that they . . . burying their . . . Romanism with their dead past, may put on the new man in Christ Jesus, being formed anew in His image."[31] By 1845 the Tract Society was shrewdly using Irish converts from Catholicism to alter the beliefs of their supposedly less fortunate brethren. The Irishman, as the officers diagnosed him, was "all feeling." His prejudices would yield not to "the cool logic of the Yankee," but to "a ready Irish tongue and a glowing Irish heart" in men who had worn "the galling yoke of Popery, but who have learned the better way."[32] Catholicism would fall, a Bible Society secretary predicted, when every Catholic was persuaded to read his Protestant Bible. "Romanism must succumb when Peter is allowed to tell his own story and has Paul to help him."[33]

While in some respects the officers were not particularly subtle, they were ever canny enough to realize that they would attract Catholics to Protestantism only with the lure of Christian kindness. However much they were willing to use defamation to gain greater revenues, they were of no mind to give the laity cause to hate or fear them. No man disliked Catholicism more than the Reverend Absalom Peters, secretary of the Home Missionary Society. But in 1832 Peters thought statements of fanatical hatred "inconsistent with the demands of the age in which we live." Let Protestants "lay aside the rough language and hard names which obtained currency in the time of the Reformation, and treat even the Catholics with courtesy. Let the discussion be firm and bold, but cautious, candid and kind that an infidel community may see that . . . we have . . . a better Spirit than

[30] *American Quarterly Register,* VII (August, 1834), 58; *American Tract Magazine,* XI (April, September, 1836), 78, 185-186.

[31] American Home Missionary Society, *Report,* XXVII (1853), 89-90; *Home Missionary,* XXIX (March, 1857), 254.

[32] American Tract Society, *Annual Report,* XX (1845), 117.

[33] Joseph Holdich to S. Galloway, New York, March 13, 1856, American Bible Society Papers.

our antagonists."[34] It was obvious, the Reverend William Adams of the Tract Society's executive committee warned in 1842, that harsh and unrestricted denunciation would merely repel Catholics.[35]

Catholics learned of salvation through Protestantism mainly from the employees of the Bible, Tract, and Home Missionary Societies. Although the Education Society and the Sunday School Union were foes of the Church and its works, the former functioned only to increase the number of Presbyterian and Congregational clergymen, and the latter had only slight success in enticing Catholic children into Protestant schools. Adults were the main target of the societies' propaganda, and adults had to be approached directly.

Pastors supported by the Home Missionary Society were zealous in the cause. In Sand Lake, New York, the Reverend Isaac Foster carefully eschewed vitriolic anti-Catholicism and stressed his love for the Romanists. In the absence of a priest and a Catholic church, Foster induced several immigrants to worship with his congregation. In Madison County, Illinois, which at the time was part of the Diocese of St. Louis, the Reverend Joseph Rieger hastened to combat with priests from diocesan headquarters who came to regain for the Church the affections of errant Catholics. Carrying a shrine "filled with bones they call relicts [*sic*]," they entered Rieger's domain, he claimed, "not with the Gospel of Peace, but with threatenings of hell and purgatory," vividly portraying the agonies to be suffered in the fires of eternal damnation. Rieger considered himself as able a disputant as any priest. Forcefully depicting the glorious salvation waiting for men who plotted a course toward heaven by Protestant precepts, he managed to keep some of his converts steadfast in their new faith.[36]

Other missionaries faced a more powerful challenge and had almost no success in battling Catholicism, yet their benevolent desire to convert the Catholics was unshaken. Southwest of Rieger in Bentonville, Arkansas, the Reverend Cephas Washburn almost despaired of saving the state from the Pope. Catholic missionaries of high ability were extremely active. There were but few theologians in Arkansas capable

[34] Absalom Peters to Richard S. Storrs, New York, August 23, 1832, copy, American Home Missionary Society Papers.

[35] *Proceedings of a Public Deliberative Meeting*, 126-127.

[36] Isaac Foster to Absalom Peters, Sand Lake, New York, January 1, 1836; Joseph Rieger to Milton Badger, Highland, Illinois, February 7, 1842, American Home Missionary Society Papers.

of disproving Catholic doctrines. Protestant schools were inferior to Catholic ones, and most of the citizens were woefully ignorant. The more influential leaders of the Episcopalian clergy haughtily refused Washburn's invitation to take anti-Catholic action. Champions of a variety of Protestant sects spent so much time damning each other and sponsoring enthusiastic revival meetings to swell the number of their own partisans, that they had no time left for co-operation against the common foe.

Nevertheless, Washburn refused to quit. Arkansas, he said, needed educated ministers, an effective union of Protestants, schools, colleges, and seminaries equal in quality to Catholic institutions, and a proliferation of Bible classes and Sunday schools. His object, however, was not the dissemination of hatred. And, at a time when many anti-Catholics throughout the nation were turning to political organization to get legislators to pass discriminatory laws,[37] Washburn emphasized that his weapons were "spiritual—and intellectual." ". . . We must receive the Catholics in Christian love," he insisted. "In love—in the bowels of Jesus Christ—we must long for their souls, and labor to convert them." If the fight was hard, faith was great.[38]

Agents of the Bible Society also tried to convert the Catholics, but the national officers quickly found that considerable obstacles hampered the work. The great difficulties, as Robert Gibson disconsolately reported from New Orleans in 1822, were that the Church hierarchy resolutely opposed the distribution of Protestant Bibles to Catholics, and that many laymen themselves viewed even the possession of the King James Version as a mortal sin.[39]

Such opposition was scarcely surprising. In its early years, indeed, the Society's board of managers had in small part anticipated the problems. From the start the officers planned to circulate Bibles in foreign lands as well as in the United States. Knowing that foreign Catholics would refuse the Protestant Scriptures, in 1818 the managers

[37] Ray A. Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism* (New York, 1938), 193-219.

[38] Cephas Washburn to Milton Badger and Charles Hall, Bentonville, Arkansas, July 24, 1844; Washburn to the secretaries, Bentonville, January 24, 1845, American Home Missionary Society Papers.

[39] Robert Gibson to S. S. Woodhull, New Orleans, April 6, 1822; George Sheldon to John C. Brigham, Mansfield, Ohio, January 12, 1847, American Bible Society Papers.

began publishing a Spanish translation of the Latin Vulgate, primarily for exportation to Latin America but also for distribution to Spanish-speaking people in New Orleans and the Southwest. Later the Society issued French translations of the Catholic New Testament, and hundreds of copies went to New Orleans. Against the protests of Protestant zealots, the leaders justified their action by claiming that they were only following the plans of the Society's founders, that thousands of Catholics would otherwise be destitute of Holy Writ in any form, and, surprisingly, that there was very little objectionable material in the Vulgate, anyway. These were moderate statements and moderate measures, but many supporters of the Society were immoderate men who steadily and heatedly criticized the officers, both for these slight efforts and for fear that the officers might begin publishing an English translation. By 1842 the pressure was immense. With the Society's treasury depleted due to the panic of 1837 and the subsequent depression, the managers stopped publishing Catholic versions.[40] From then on, their employees had to do their best to get American Catholics to accept the Protestant rendition. They had indifferent success.[41]

It was the Tract Society, whose publications struck out against every conceivable moral evil and whose work was thus far broader than that of any of the other organizations, which led the crusade to destroy Catholicism by converting the Catholics. There were two major methods. One was arguments against Catholicism written into tracts to be distributed to the laity. The other was an organized system of personal proselytizing.

If anti-Catholic tracts added no new arguments to those advanced by Protestant propagandists since the Reformation, the ancient themes were persuasively developed for immigrants unschooled in the niceties of doctrinal debate. Two tracts illustrated the points made in all the rest: *Twenty-two Plain Reasons for Not Being a Roman Catholic,* and *The False Claims of the Pope.* The former was mainly a comparison of the alleged pronouncements of the sixteenth-century

[40] American Bible Society, *Annual Report,* XXIV (1840), 22-24, XXVI (1842), 30-31. Cf. also James H. McNeill to P. M. Ozanne, New York, December 29, 1858, copy, American Bible Society Papers.

[41] Cf. e.g., George Sheldon to John C. Brigham, Mansfield, Ohio, January 12, 1847; A. B. Chittenden to the secretaries, Ausable Forks, New York, November 26, 1849; G. B. Richardson to the secretaries, Pittsford, New York, March 26, 1853, American Bible Society Papers.

Council of Trent with the ostensible meaning of both the Douay and King James versions of the Bible. The tract claimed that the doctrine of transubstantiation was an impious fraud, contrary to the plain words of Scripture. It argued that the sacrifice of the Mass was a delusion, since it involved neither taking of life nor shedding of blood, and since the single sacrifice of Christ on the cross was the only sacrifice needed to save sinners. Auricular confession to a priest was a device to ensnare men's souls, the idea of purgatory was an invention of the Church, justification through the sacraments and good works was a desecration of the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith alone, supplicating the intercession of the saints was a denial of Christ, the only mediator. The Church kept the Bible from its members, thus ignoring God's command; it contended that Peter was the first vicar of Christ on earth, thus flouting the words of Jesus; it claimed infallibility for the Popes, thus scorning logic and common sense. And the tract objected bitterly to repetition of prayers, saying services in Latin, accepting the Apocrypha, and requiring clerical celibacy.[42]

The False Claims of the Pope asserted that Christ had never constituted St. Peter the leader of the other Apostles and the bishop of the universal Church. Jesus built His Church upon the truth of Peter's statement that He was verily the Son of God, not on Peter himself. If Peter held the keys of heaven and hell, with the power to bind and loose, so did his apostolic brethren. According to the officers, Christ never appointed a chief among the Apostles, Peter never considered himself as such, and neither did the others. On matters organizational, the tract declared flatly that there was no rational proof that Peter was ever in Rome or that he was ever Bishop of Rome or, even admitting that he had been bishop, that he had had authority over the other bishops and had transmitted his authority to the Popes.[43]

Probably more effective than such tracts was the system of colportage. In the 1840's and the 1850's, hundreds of tract and book distributors, commissioned by the Society and called colporteurs, journeyed about specified districts from house to house, not only

[42] *Twenty-two Plain Reasons for Not Being a Roman Catholic. Showing the Inconsistency of the Prominent Errors of Popery, Not Only with the Authorized Version of the Bible, but with the Douay, or Roman Catholic Version* (New York, n.d.), *passim.*

[43] *The False Claims of the Pope* (New York, n.d.), *passim.*

laboring to sell publications, but also urging sinners to repent. Colportage began in 1842. Before that year the Society had relied on auxiliary organizations in states, counties, and towns to buy publications from national headquarters and to sell or give them to individuals. But the panic of 1837 and the depression destroyed most of the auxiliaries, and the officers seized upon colportage as the best means for purveying books and converting the unregenerate.

By the late 1850's the Society was employing over 500 full- and part-time colporteurs each year. All of them visited Catholic families on their rounds, but perhaps the more successful of the bookselling evangelists were men who were themselves converts from Catholicism. On August 24, 1842 Leger Ritty, a recent immigrant from Germany, began work among his transplanted countrymen in Ohio. Ritty strove with a convert's zeal to convince German Catholics of their error. Through sales and gifts of books and tracts, through fervent prayers and fervid exhortations, he dispensed what he conceived to be the message of the Gospel. According to his own account, he was a giant of persuasion. In 1845 one of his journeys in Ohio brought him to the house of an "infidel German," who was entertaining several Catholics. Ritty took on atheist and Romanist alike in verbal hostilities and reportedly convinced them all that their souls were in peril. Later one of the Catholics fell ill. When a priest came to pray in Latin for the sufferer, the man rose up from his sickbed and cried, "Away with your jargon; a Protestant prayed with me yesterday in language I could understand, and it went to my heart." Fortified by the strength which Ritty had instilled in their father, his children clustered around him and solemnly urged the priest to forsake his errors. The next day Ritty visited the cleric to argue him out of his heresy. But the priest was already "diligently studying the Bible, and determined to abandon the errors of Romanism."[44]

For Irish Catholics there were such men as Watson Haynes. An Irishman and a former seaman, Haynes combined what the society described as a "sailor's frankness" with the "native warmth of the Irish character." Like Ritty, Haynes was a convert. "The only way to enlighten Roman Catholics," he affirmed, "is to go from house to house; sit down and read the Holy Scriptures, and direct their

[44] American Tract Society, *Annual Report*, XVIII (1843), 61-65; *General View of Colportage*, 37, 39.

minds to Christ." In a typical three-months period he visited 1,350 families in New York, sold 53 volumes and gave away 86 more, and distributed some 3,000 pages of tracts. Haynes had lesser success than Ritty, for metropolitan Catholics were "much under the dominion of the priests." If one were to credit his reports, Haynes had to deal with amazingly superstitious people. One woman allegedly believed that Bishop John Hughes had turned a beefsteak into a flounder, another that a priest had kept an antagonist blind for a year and a day. Nevertheless, he and others reported a few victories.[45]

The major triumph never came. At no time were the societies even close to converting large numbers of Catholics. Personal piety was too deep, the bonds of tradition too strong, the ability and influence of the Catholic clergy too great. In their adversity the officers followed a practical course. They published scores of tales of individual conversions to demonstrate that they were not spending the monies of their societies in vain,[46] but they constantly refused to report the negligible total number of conversions.[47] Paradoxically, the general failure to convert the Catholics was fortunate, even essential, for the continued prosperity of the societies. Had most Catholics become Protestants, one of the main appeals for donations would have vanished.

In seeking to change Catholic beliefs, the benevolent societies helped to preserve some measure of moderation in an age of increasing bitterness toward immigrants. They could not risk offending the Catholic laity, for doing so would have destroyed the possibility of mass conversion. At the same time, although many individual Protestant stewards supported political action to limit Catholic influence, the societies as groups could not do so. Support of the American

[45] *Ibid.*, 40, 46, and *passim.*

[46] For typical accounts, cf. American Sunday School Union, *Annual Report,* I (1825), 44-45; *American Tract Magazine,* I (October, 1825), 212; *The Weaver's Daughter. A Narrative of Facts, by a Layman* (New York, n.d.), *passim;* American Bible Society, *Annual Report,* XXXV (1851), 63.

[47] Only the Tract Society provided statistics regarding Catholics, and these were vague. In May, 1847, the officers began publishing reasonably accurate figures about their colporteurs' work, and announced that the itinerant evangelists had visited 30,193 families of "Roman Catholics or Fatal Errorists," without distinguishing between the two. Later they furnished figures for Catholics alone, showing visits to over 50,000 families annually. But they never estimated the number of conversions. American Tract Society, *Annual Report,* XXII (1847), 49; XXXI (1856), 63; XXXIV (1859), 40.

Republican party in the 1840's and of the American or Know-Nothing party in the 1850's would have been an admission that there were equally good or even better ways to annihilate Catholic power. The result of such an admission might have been financial chaos.

The societies were not tolerant of Catholicism, and for that later generations would condemn them. But they expressed their purposes with a certain restraint and their methods were far more equitable than those of thousands of extremists. If all anti-Catholics had acted with such relative moderation, a vast amount of bitterness and wrong would have been avoided.

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MISCELLANY

GLADSTONE, NEWMAN, AND IRELAND IN 1881

By

FRANCIS H. HERRICK*

An extraordinary exchange of letters occurred between William Ewart Gladstone and John Henry Newman late in 1881 in which the prime minister, engaged in deploying all "the resources of civilized society" against the Land League in Ireland, sought the help of the cardinal, almost a recluse at the Birmingham Oratory. The fact of the correspondence has been known since John Morley noted it briefly in his biography of Gladstone, quoting from one of the letters but providing no explanation.[1] The whole story is one of much interest, and the letters themselves deserve careful attention.

The background for Gladstone's appeal was his view of the nature of the Roman Catholic Church, especially after the definition of papal infallibility in 1870. He was repelled yet fascinated by the theory, and was deeply concerned by the controversy which developed around the German theologian, Johan Ignaz von Döllinger, who had refused to accept it and was ultimately excommunicated. Gladstone's views were kept private as long as he was prime minister, but he felt released when the Conservatives returned to power in 1874 and he resigned the Liberal leadership. An article supporting beauty and dignity in the ritual of the Church of England which he wrote for the *Contemporary Review* in October, 1874, revealed the nature of the issue already in Gladstone's mind through a brief and gratuitous statement that, after the Vatican Decree, no one could become a convert to Roman Catholicism without renouncing his moral and mental freedom and placing his civic loyalty and duty at the mercy of an outside authority.[2]

Gladstone's views were revealed in detail in November by a tract entitled: *The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance: A*

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[1] John Morley, *Life of William Ewart Gladstone* (London, 1903), III, 62-63. The correspondence is not mentioned in Wilfrid Ward's two-volume work, *The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman* (London, 1912).

[2] W. E. Gladstone, "Ritual and Ritualism," *Contemporary Review*, XXIV (October, 1874). The article was reprinted in Gladstone's *Gleanings of Past Years* (New York, 1879), VI, 109; an incomplete manuscript is in the Gladstone Papers, British Museum, Add. MSS. 44693.

Political Expostulation. A tremendous furor was raised. In a few weeks 120,000 copies were sold, and the replies which were immediately forthcoming attracted equal attention. English Catholics as differently prominent as Archbishop Manning, soon to become a cardinal, and Lord Acton were joined by many others in writing pamphlets or sending letters to newspapers. From long experience Gladstone was impervious to personal attacks, but he was significantly affected by the reply prepared by Newman in the form of *A Letter Addressed to His Grace the Duke of Norfolk on Occasion of Mr. Gladstone's Recent Expostulation*. It was a long tract—131 pages—carefully reasoned, calm in tone, and far above any personal animosity to Gladstone. It was approved by the Duke of Norfolk, the premier Catholic peer in England, only with reluctance, and received no official approval from the English hierarchy. A brief quotation is sufficient to explain Newman's views on the major issue and to suggest why his expression of them won him no favour from the supporters of Pope Pius IX.

> There are those among us, as it must be confessed, who for years past have conducted themselves as if no responsibility attached to wild words and overbearing deeds. ——The English people are sufficiently sensitive to the claims of the Pope, without having them, as if in defiance, flourished in their faces. Those claims most certainly I am not going to deny; I have never denied them. —— And I uphold them as heartily as I recognize my duty of loyalty to the constitution, the laws and the government of England. I see no inconsistency in my being at once a good Catholic and a good Englishman.[3]

The issue of Ireland did not enter into this controversy in its public aspects, but the fact of a connection in Gladstone's mind is clear from a private exchange of letters with the Marquess of Ripon, his former colleague in the Liberal government and a recent convert to Roman Catholicism. After reading Gladstone's article in the *Contemporary Review*, Lord Ripon immediately protested strongly but privately the charge against the loyalty of recent converts, insisting on his own continuing and perfect loyalty to the Queen.[4] Gladstone replied at length that he

[3] John Henry Newman, *A Letter Addressed to His Grace the Duke of Norfolk* (London, 1875) p. 4. The general issue is reviewed in Humphrey J. T. Johnson, "The Controversy between Newman and Gladstone over the Question of Civil Allegiance," *Dublin Review*, 216 (October, 1945), 173-182. In the controversies over Ireland, Newman was not a Home Ruler, although he thought it would come in some shape; what concerned him was the English effort to force "godless education" on Ireland. This is made clear in two letters to his nephew, J. R. Mozley, on October 20 and 24, 1881, which are quoted in Ward, *op. cit.*, II, 517-519.

[4] Ripon to Gladstone, October 1, 1874. Gladstone Papers, British Museum, Add. MSS 44286, ff. 196-199, hereafter referred to as the Gladstone Papers.

was not making any charge against Lord Ripon personally, but did not change his general position. The letter included the following statement:

> As long as England owed a debt of justice to Ireland, I said as little as possible on this subject [papal infallibility and civic loyalty] lest I should hinder the discharge of this debt. Now we have either paid it, as in the Church and Land Acts, or tendered payment as in the Irish University Bill only to have it contumaciously rejected by the Bishops of the Pope's communion, under orders, as I am informed from Rome, but this is a secondary matter. Then again, I do not think it is for a Prime Minister, without a great necessity, to expatiate much in these matters. In a private and independent position the great scales of duty are differently weighted.[5]

Further letters prevented a personal breach, for Gladstone withdrew the implication of the potential disloyalty of Englishmen who were Roman Catholics.[6] In public, however, he continued to attack the Vatican decrees. A second tract called *Vaticanism* was issued in February, 1875. Later in the year both Gladstone's tracts, a review of the speeches of Pius IX, and a long introduction were published in book form. Though his opposition to the Vatican decrees was unchanged, Gladstone did state that the loyalty of English Catholics was not in question. Whatever he may have felt about his other opponents, Gladstone's deep respect for Newman and Lord Ripon was undiminished.

The next year Gladstone took up the Eastern Question and embarked on the tumultuous course which led him by way of Midlothian back to the leadership of the Liberal Party and to No. 10 Downing Street in 1880. In forming his new ministry, he asked Lord Ripon to become Viceroy for India, and ignored attacks on the appointment by extreme Protestant groups. In the meantime Newman remained quietly at the Oratory in Birmingham. In 1879 Pope Leo XIII made him a cardinal, an act which seemed to accept the validity of Newman's views while giving a belated recognition to his greatness.

In his Midlothian campaign before the general election of 1880, Gladstone had committed himself to improvement of conditions in Ireland, but he could not have foreseen the circumstances under which his second Irish land bill was introduced in 1881. The House of Commons was confused by the controversies of Whigs and Radicals, embarrassed by the Bradlaugh case, angered by violence in Ireland, and obstructed by Home Rulers. That Gladstone was able to secure the passage of his land bill

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Along with many other scholars, the writer is indebted to the British Museum for its courtesy in extending the use of its collections of books and manuscripts.

[5] Gladstone to Ripon, Oct. 4, 1874, copy. *Ibid.*, ff. 200-201.

[6] Five additional letters were exchanged in October. *Ibid.*, ff. 202-218.

after the most prolonged debate in the history of parliament up to this time, was a tribute both to his skill in framing a complicated measure and to the emotional force with which he insisted on it as an act of justice without which the disorders in Ireland could not be ended.[7] It was an equally significant achievement to get the bill through the Tory House of Lords.

What could be pushed through parliament was not enough to satisfy the Home Rulers or the Land League. The rent war went on, boycotting and violence continued, and Gladstone's tremendous legislative effort for justice was unavailing. He was convinced that extremists wished to prevent any improvement in the condition of Irish tenants because it would undermine their own influence, and that the Land League was driving the country to revolution with the support of irresponsible Home Rulers and priests. He took up the challenge. At Leeds on October 7 Gladstone announced that in any final conflict between law "purged from defect and any taint of injustice" and lawlessness, the "resources of civilized society" available against its enemies were not exhausted.[8] The Cabinet met on October 12; the next day Parnell and leaders of the Land League were arrested and sent to Kilmainham prison under the terms of the Coercion Act.

A less obvious "resource of civilized society" was also considered although never avowed, in part because Gladstone had publicly denied the validity of the power concerned. George Errington, an M.P. from Longford who was both an Irish landlord and a Catholic, arrived in Rome the end of October and immediately had a long interview with Cardinal Jacobini,

[7] The emotional intensity with which Gladstone regarded his land bill is even clearer from the notes for his speech introducing it which are in the Gladstone Papers, 44668, ff. 71-115, than in the version printed in *Hansard*, 3rd series, CCLX, 926. The conclusion in the notes is almost poetry.

As Love is stronger than death,
So Justice is stronger than the passion of the moment
than the resentments of the past.
Guarded by her Divine light we are safe
Every step made is a step nearer to the goal, &
Obstacles even if seemingly insurmountable
may delay, cannot defeat
her final triumph.

[8] The notes for the speech are in the Gladstone Papers, 44668, ff. 180-181. The conclusion is written out in full. Morley, *op. cit.*, III, 61, gives the date incorrectly as September 8, and uses a slightly different version of the conclusion. The phrase "resources of civilized society" is in both versions.

the papal Secretary of State.[9] Whatever his exact status, it is certainly true that Errington came to Rome with the knowledge of Gladstone and Lord Granville, the Foreign Secretary, and that Pope Leo XIII, who had no sympathy with Irish revolutionaries, was ready to receive an official British resident in Rome. The immediate purpose for re-establishing British relations with the Vatican could only be to request the pope to use his spiritual power to curb Irish priests who were supporting the Land League. Conversely, it was unlikely that Leo XIII would exercise his authority over the Irish clergy until after diplomatic relations were restored.

As soon as Errington's presence in Rome was known, opposition in England mounted. As the *Times* pointed out, any appeal to the pope to intervene in Ireland must be unpopular among Englishmen of every class even if it had the slightest chance of success. It would open England to the taunt that it could not govern Ireland without the aid of the pope.[10] Publicity for Errington's quest resulted in queries, protests, and indirect disavowal. On November 11 the *Times* published an exchange of notes in which J. A. Godley, Gladstone's private secretary, stated to the secretary of the Protestant Educational Institute that the prime minister had directed him to inform his correspondent "that Her Majesty's Government have sent no mission to the Vatican."[11] Errington remained in Rome while tension, boycotting, crime, and arbitrary arrests continued in Ireland.

This was the situation when the Christmas season found Gladstone at Hawarden Castle, the estate near Chester which had become so dear to him. Characteristically he threw himself into detailed matters which ordinarily would have been left to his secretaries in Downing Street. One of these was to acknowledge a brief and laudatory biography of Cardinal Newman by Henry J. Jennings, a copy of which had been sent to the prime minister in advance of formal publication.[12] Without a second thought, Gladstone wrote to the author praising his study of "this great and fascinating writer"—and the letter was used to publicize the

[9] *Times,* November 3, 1881, 3. Errington was elected to parliament in 1874 and again in 1880 as a Home Ruler. Nevertheless, he was involved in the rent war. When his tenants demanded and were refused a fifteen percent reduction in rent, they withheld all payment. *Ibid.,* November 10, 1881, 7.

[10] *Ibid.,* November 2, 1881, 9.

[11] *Ibid.,* November 11, 1881, 8.

[12] Henry J. Jennings, *Cardinal Newman: The Story of His Life* (Birmingham and London, 1882). Jennings was a Protestant journalist in Birmingham. As was usual, copies for review were sent out and attempts made to secure publicity before the formal publication date. The first review appeared in the Birmingham *Daily Post* of December 2, 1881, 4.

new book as should have been expected. Disconcerted, Gladstone wrote an apology to Newman.[13] The latter immediately replied, expressing his pleasure at seeing Gladstone's handwriting even though he had been the occasion for this imposition on the prime minister's kindness. Newman went on to explain that he had refused to approve of the volume in spite of efforts by the publishers to make him seem to have done so. He concluded:

> that they should bother me, a man with no work on his hands, is no great matter, but that they should persevere beyond me and lay a trap for a Prime Minister is nothing short of heroic. The only puzzle I have is that they have not sent me your letter, to show their triumph.
>
> May I sign myself without presumption and with great sincerity
>
> Yours affectionately
>
> John H. Card. Newman.
>
> P.S. Since writing the above I have seen your letter which (as is your wont) is kind far above my merits.[14]

This gracious letter touched a spring in Gladstone's mind. Perhaps, a cardinal who was "at once a good Catholic and a good Englishman" would act and succeed, where Errington had volunteered and failed, in invoking papal authority to curb the Irish clergy, pacify the country, and permit the Land Act to take effect. In desperation Gladstone appealed to Newman. The letters which follow explain themselves. They led nowhere and nothing was changed in Ireland. In this sense the correspondence is historically unimportant, but it has a special significance in revealing the thoughts of two great though very different men on the nature and on the political use of papal authority.

Mills College

Hawarden Castle
Chester
18 Dec. 1881

My dear Cardinal Newman,

Together with this innocent looking note, you will receive a more formidable cover, & what I now write is in truth a sigh of regret for troubling you with the other packet.

[13] Copies of these letters are in the Gladstone Papers, 44473, ff. 140-141. ff. 154-155.

[14] Newman to Gladstone, December 13, 1881, *ibid.*, 44473, ff. 166-167.

My intrusion would not have taken place, had I not been emboldened to it by your kindness, but I fear it will seem a perverse use of that kindness.

The present state of Ireland, critical and even menacing in some parts, is not without favourable features.

But in all its darker parts it is the main impediment to my fulfilling the only dear earthly wish I entertain for myself that of bidding adieu, after half a century, to the arena of political contention, which I have always felt to be ill suited to the closing stage of life.

With this desire for rest, I have a feeling that mankind is not now principally governed from within the walls of Cabinets and Parliaments—higher issues are broadly revived, & higher interests are in question, than those with which Ministers & Oppositions mainly deal; & it is by subtler & less obtrusive instruments that the Supreme wisdom acts upon them.

We have lived through a quiet period; the next half century may perhaps be quieter still: I think it looks more alarming.

I take the place of nearness & honour you have given me & remain

Affectionately yours

W. E. Gladstone[15]

Hawarden
Dec. 18. 81

My dear Cardinal Newman

I hope you will not think that I abuse the kindness shown, even upon former example, in your delightful & moving letter, when I write to you on a public matter. So you see that "your Eminence" is a title with a tail behind it.

But I will begin by defining *strictly* the limits of this appeal. I ask you to read the enclosed papers; & to consider whether you will write anything to Rome upon them. I do not *ask* you to write, nor to tell me whether you write, nor to make any reply to this letter, beyond returning the enclosures in an envelope to me in Downing St. I will state briefly the grounds of my request thus limited.

In 1844 when I was young as a Cabinet Minister, & the Government of Sir Robert Peel was troubled with the O'Connell manifestations, they made what I think was an appeal to Pope Gregory XVI for his intervention to discourage agitation in Ireland. I should be very loath now to tender such a request at Rome.

[15] *Ibid.*, ff. 185-186, copy.

But now a different case arises. Some members of the R. C. Priesthood in Ireland deliver certain Sermons, & otherwise express themselves in the way which my inclosures exhibit. I doubt whether if they were laymen we should not have settled their cases by putting them into gaol. I need not describe the sentiments uttered. Your Eminence will feel them & judge them as I do.

But now as to the Supreme Pontiff. You will hardly be surprised when I say that I regard him, if apprised of these facts, as responsible for the conduct of these priests. For I know perfectly well that he has the means of silencing them; & that, if any one of them were in public to dispute the decrees of the Council of 1870 as plainly as he has denounced law & order, he would be silenced.

Mr. Errington, who is at Rome, will I believe have seen these papers, & will I hope have brought the facts as far as he is able to the knowledge of His Holiness. But I do not know how far he is able: nor how he may use his discretion: he is not our official servant, but an independent R. C. gentleman & a Volunteer.

My wish is as regards Ireland, in this hour of her peril and her hope, to leave nothing undone by which to give heart & strength to the hope, & to abate the peril. But my wish as regards the Pope is that he should have the means of bringing those, for whom he is responsible, to fulfill the elementary duties of citizenship. I say of citizenship: of Christianity, or Priesthood it is not for me to speak.

The papers are in their nature confidential: but may be used confidentially as far as the purpose I have described requires. They are in the nature of depositions, as they are reports taken by responsible persons & such as, the case arising, we should produce & use in a Court of Justice.

I think I need not detain you longer: & I remain in all truth & faith your Eminence's very sincerely

W E Gladstone

H. E.
Cardinal Newman[16]

Birmingham
December 23, 1881

My dear Mr. Gladstone

You may be sure that I feel honoured by your confidence, and should gladly find myself able to be of service, however slight it might be, in a

[16] *Ibid.*, ff. 184, copy. The documents referred to are not in the Gladstone Papers.

political crisis, which must be felt as of grave anxiety by all who understand the blessing of national unity and peace.

I think you overrate the Pope's power in political and social matters. It is absolute in questions of theology, but not so in practical matters. If the contest in Ireland was whether "'Rebellion', or whether 'Robbery' was a sin," we might expect him to anathematize its denial; but his action in concrete matters, as whether a political body is censurable or not, is not direct, and only on the long run effective. Again, local power and influence is often more than a match for Roman right.

I learned this at Rome in 1847, when I was asking the Pope's sanction for introducing an Oratory into England. Besides what we asked for, he gave us the Oratory at Malta with its Church and Library, the Malta community having died out. (What the English government's rights were, I do not know) Ultimately we declined to accept it; but, when I first talked the proposal over, an ecclesiastical friend at Rome said to me, "The Pope of course is acting within his right, but don't fancy you have got the House because he has given it. Everything will depend on the Bishop at Malta. Do you know *him*?" I have had experience, that my friend's words were only true, all through my Catholic life. The Pope's right keeps things together, it checks extravagance, and at length prevails, but not without a fight. Its exercise is a matter of great prudence, and depends upon times and circumstances.

I observe that your papers relate mainly to the intemporate, dangerous words of Priests and Curates. Surely such persons belong to their respective Bishops, and scarcely require the intervention of the Supreme Authority.

I will mind your directions about your Papers, Believe me

My dear Mr Gladstone

Yours affectionately

John H. Card. Newman

The Rt. Hon.
W. E. Gladstone M P[17]

[17] *Ibid.*, ff. 205-208.

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH

Man as Churchman. By Norman Sykes. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1960. Pp. xii, 203. $4.00.)

This volume contains the Wiles Lectures delivered at Queen's University, Belfast, in May, 1959, by Dr. Norman Sykes, Dean of Winchester. Dr. Sykes discusses various religious issues raised by a study of ecclesiastical history in relation to the contemporary scene, with special reference to the ecumenical tendencies among all Christian churches at the present time, and in prospect of the challenge of totalitarian states. He examines the complex relationships between history, church history, and theology; reviews the debates at the Councils of Trent and the Vatican over the question of the supremacy of Peter over the other apostles; treats of Scripture and tradition as discussed at the time of the Reformation and since then; and discusses the changing patterns of relations between Church and State, and particularly the way in which events in nineteenth-century Europe foreshadowed problems of the Church under the modern totalitarian regimes.

It is a pleasure to read Dr. Sykes' book. Particularly noteworthy are his reflections on the role of the church historian. He is a master of his sources and carefully and impartially analyzes the texts he chooses to examine. His book is soberly and delightfully written in a truly irenic spirit. It is only when Dr. Sykes draws conclusions that he departs from the role of the historian and enters the field of the theologian, establishing, practically, an historical criterion for the definition of dogma. After satisfying himself, in his second lecture, that the historical evidence for the papal magisterium and infallibility are inconclusive, he questions the wisdom of the Vatican Council in defining these dogmas. In his third lecture, he concludes that the Tridentine decree concerning Scripture and tradition made the defining of dogmas largely a matter of church history. Historical evidence must be sought to prove the antiquity of such traditions that are affirmed to be of apostolic origin. Therefore, in view of the implicit character of the scriptural arguments and the lateness of the historical proofs for the dogmas of the Immaculate Conception and the Assumption, he doubts whether the papal definitions of these dogmas were justified.

From the historical standpoint alone, perhaps, Dr. Sykes' conclusions are justified. But we might recall his own remark in the first lecture:

"It is a commonplace that the extant literary sources of the early centuries of the history of the Church are exiguous . . ." (p. 8). We may also cite with approval the first part of his concluding sentence to the second lecture: "For although historical evidence cannot be wholly determinative of theological interpretations . . ." (p. 69), but disagree with the second half of the same sentence: "without a sufficiency of such testimony all definition of dogma must be precariously based." We disagree because the Catholic Church lays a broader foundation for her dogmatic definitions than mere historical evidence. She does not claim to be able to give completely satisfactory historical proofs for all her beliefs, practices, and dogmas. They rest on revelation, on the faith, and on the divine teaching authority of the Church. She does, indeed, call on historical evidence to illustrate the faith, or to bear witness to it, but denies that her beliefs must be conclusively proved historically before she can define them as dogmas.

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St. Peter and the Popes. By Michael M. Winter. (London: Darton, Longmann and Todd; Baltimore: Helicon Press. 1960. Pp. vi, 236. $4.50.)

Father Winter's monograph on St. Peter and the development of papal power down to Chalcedon is a well written, competently conceived analysis of the factual data preserved in the historical record. He uses to good advantage much of the recent literature on the subject. Hence the book is an interesting contribution to an understanding of the papacy in the formative years. Unfortunately, it is not a very original or valuable contribution. For the author advances no truly new considerations; nor, for some inexplicable reason, does he mention a whole trend of interpretation concerning the development of papal power that begins with Ludwig Hertling's "Communio und Primat" (in *Xenia Piana* [Rome, 1943], pp. 1-48), and is succinctly summarized in the introductory chapter of Walter Ullmann's *The Growth of Papal Power in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1955). This latter approach prescinds for the most part from previously controverted positions and, by analyzing the facts in the light of basic historical happenings and constitutional concepts, lays down a solid basis for accepted dogmatic positions.

The first half is the most useful part of Father Winter's book. In four chapters he deals with the evidence concerning Peter in, respectively, the Gospels, the apostolic Church, patristic thought, and the Roman Church. To the last he adds a good, if uncritical, excursus on the more recent archaeological and liturgical evidence. In the body of this section he

follows the lead of J. Ludwig's invaluable dissertation, *Die Primatsworte Mt. 16, 18, 19 in der altk. Exegese* (Munich, 1952). Strangely he does not mention the dissertation produced by A. Rimoldi, *L'Apostolo S. Pietro* (Analecta Gregoriana, Volume XCVI [Rome, 1958]; cf. the review in *CHR*, XLVI [April, 1960], 46-48), the theme and development of which are similar to his own.

The second section of the book discusses the bishops of Rome in the first two centuries, and the papal power in the Italian, the western, and the eastern zones of the Roman Empire. It is here that Father Winter's method proves most disappointing. For it quickly becomes apparent that the author is writing with an eye on dogmatic conclusions. He not infrequently forces the historical evidence to suit doctrinal theory—an inveterate but, in fact, unnecessary procedure.

In the chapter concerned with the bishops of Rome in the first two centuries, the author contrasts Harnack's theory of the evolution of the papacy under the pressure of events and circumstances, with Newman's idea of the development of doctrine. It is, of course, Newman's theory that he expounds almost slavishly without discussing Harnack's idea at any length. This is unfortunate. For while Harnack denied that the papacy was of Christ's creation, his discussion of the facts of the papal use of power in the primitive centuries can be most effectively added to Newman's observations, once the link between Christ, Peter, and the apostolic Church has been clearly indicated. Hence it is bordering on the jejune to state that Harnack's theory is open to three serious criticisms: "the apparent regression from the doctrine of the New Testament (in the post-apostolic Church); the fact that the speed of development is too rapid to be explained by the laws of historical circumstance; and a third reason which concerns the nature of the activity of the bishops of Rome" (p. 115). Father Winter frequently speaks of a "retardation" of both the development and understanding of New Testament doctrine and practice on the part of the primitive Church. It is this hypothesis that he would use to support the "regression theory." Actually, there is a simpler explanation—the paucity of documentation. Concerning the "laws of historical circumstance"—who really knows anything about the rate at which an idea or movement should develop? Finally, just what was the nature of the activity of the bishops of Rome down to the end of the second century at least, is unknown. The few facts available are the subject of as many theories as there are currents of theological interest.

Yet the whole problem is capable of a rather simple solution. The New Testament does represent Christ selecting Peter, conferring on him special powers in reference to the founding of His Church. In the *Letter of Clement* there is a clear distinction between the function of the clergy

and that of the laity (*cap.* 41), and a definite discussion of the succession: the apostles—sent by Christ, Christ by God— . . . by the will of God appointing bishops and deacons in the churches (*cap.* 42). As for the Roman Church, Ignatius of Antioch testifies that Peter and Paul gave commands there. Irenaeus says that in some way it possessed a "potentior principalitas," and Eusebius attests that during the second century both heretics and orthodox flocked to Rome seeking justification for the orthodoxy of their faith. By the third century there are evidences of the conscious use of papal power; and the theory concerning the Petrine commission is beginning to be accepted. Finally, the idea and the practice are seen in clear perspective in the century between Damasus and Leo I.

The desire to discover absolute evidence for each step in this evolution results in forcing the evidence and destroys all thought of objectivity. Theologically even, it tends to weaken confidence in the adequacy of the magisterium in the early Church. Father Winter, e.g., wants to prove conclusively that for Irenaeus, Peter alone functioned as Bishop of Rome and headed the line of Roman bishops. Actually, Irenaeus speaks of the Church at Rome founded by the two apostles Peter and Paul; he begins the episcopal line with Linus. It is only with Leo the Great (440-461) that final emphasis is placed on the Petrine foundation. Previous popes and polemicists felt the double apostolicity a safer guarantee of Roman authority and orthodoxy. Leo saw the necessity of stressing a different angle of the power lodged in Peter's commission. It is bad history and poor theology to try to make Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Victor, or Irenaeus conscious of a refinement of doctrine where the documents are silent.

Though he uses G. Bardy's *Theology of the Church from Clement of Rome to Nicea,* Father Winter insists that only in the western Church did a true and effective ecclesiology develop and that this was the safeguard against imperial control of the Roman Church. The evidence suggests rather that in the early councils, mainly eastern, a theology of the Church was elucidated; nor can the ideas of Irenaeus, Methodius, Athansius, and Basil be discounted. On the other hand, for all that he had clear ideas on the structure and prerogatives of the Church, St. Leo I can hardly be accused of having fought clear of imperial prerogatives or even of state interference in the governance of the Church.

It is unfortunate that in the current debate concerning the nature of the Church, Father Winter's book, so admirably written, will not help to clarify positions. He presents a restatement of the achievements of Batiffol and Dom Chapman, rather than an attempt to advance in the direction these men projected.

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The Ecumenical Councils. By Francis Dvornik. (New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc. 1961. Pp. 112. $3.50.)

To accept the challenge of surveying the councils of the Church in slightly less than 102 pages of text is to manifest prodigious courage. The intricate theological problems and the frequently clashing views of historians learned in restricted fields would hold an ordinary historian at bay. Father Dvornik, author of this eighty-second volume of the Twentieth Century Encyclopedia of Catholicism, is an illustrious historian witnessed by solid historical works and monographs on Byzantine subjects. Opening with a magnificent synthesis of data from the Council of Jerusalem to 879, the author shows the place of the emperor, the contests of the patriarchal sees, the issues involved, and the solutions reached. The last section of the book gives a brief and balanced survey of Trent and the Vatican. The final pages introduce the coming council with an unusually detailed discussion of the nature of infallibility.

The author's synthesis of the western mediaeval councils is a little less than adequate. Most historians do not accept the recent attempt to rehabilitate John Huss as a "pious and virtuous man" and "zealous reformer." He taught doctrines contrary to the constant teaching of the *magisterium,* and he knew them to be so. What his subjective state of soul or piety may have been is beyond the province of the historian to investigate. More serious is the author's assertion that Martin Luther was a reformer of abuses. Aside from the consistency of Luther in condemning strict monasteries and praising lax ones (because "good works" are essentially evil and show a lack of "faith"), Luther for years before 1517 had taught that indulgences were evil in themselves precisely because they set some value on human co-operation with grace. Luther never tried to reform any evils because all evil was covered by his saving doctrine of "faith" and he was consistent with his pre-1517 teaching when he sanctioned the bigamy of Philip of Hess. In 1555 the empire explicitly tolerated "Lutherans," but not "reformers."

Some errors and misprints mar the book: "Clement VI" for Clement III (p. 51); "Paschal II" for Calixtus II (p. 52); "Charles VI" for Charles V (p. 88). "St. Sophia" is an English barbarism for the "Church of the Holy Wisdom." Acre is preferable to "Akkon" (p. 58) and members of the Eastern Catholic Church are reputed to resent the term "Uniats" (pp. 79 *passim*). The phrase "image worship" is singularly infelicitous in the United States and confuses the whole issue of iconoclasm, since all but professed theologians consider the word "worship" to be restricted to God. A superb select bibliography is appended to the book for the general reader.

HENRY A. CALLAHAN

Boston College

The Church In Crisis: A History of the General Councils, 325-1870. By Philip Hughes. (Garden City: Hanover House; New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc. 1961. Pp. 384. $4.95.)

Of the recent books on the general councils of the Church which have come to the attention of this reviewer, this volume by Philip Hughes is by far the best. The author brings to his task a competence unique in the English-speaking world. Here out of his vast knowledge he has written with great economy and clarity. Within the compass of 365 pages he has produced a work which will not only serve the general reader as an excellent introduction to the councils, but will also furnish a handy book of reference to the scholary historian.

The ecumenical councils fall naturally into two main classes: those which began with the Council of Nicea in 325 and end with IV Constantinople in 869-870; and those which began with the I Lateran in 1123 and end with the I Vatican 1869-1870. Those of the first group all took place in the East, were summoned by the eastern emperors, were attended mostly by the eastern bishops, and were concerned mainly with doctrinal disputes which agitated the East. The first four—Nicea, I Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon—were intent upon hammering out an exact and uncompromising expression of the doctrines of the Incarnation and the Trinity. An important feature of these councils, however, was the increasing emphasis on the essential importance of the supremacy of the See of Rome and the Roman pontiff. As Monsignor Hughes says:

> But the Pope was always all-important in the General Council, from the beginning. From the time of the first council whose history is at all really known to us in detail—Ephesus—although the Emperor may call the council. . . it is the pope who, before the council, decides the point of belief, who directs the bishops of the council that this is the truth and that it is not to be called into question: Celestine in 431, Leo I in 451, Agatho in 680. So instinctive is this papal action with regard to the General Council facing a revolt against the traditional belief that were it one day to be discovered that Silvester I sent with his legates to Nicea the famous phrase, *homo-ousion toi Patri* for the council's acceptance we should scarcely be surprised at the news—it would be so perfectly in keeping with the rest of the history.

The last four eastern councils can scarcely compare in importance with the first four. They dealt with the dispute between the East and the West over the famous Three Chapters, with Monotheletism, and Iconoclasm. The eighth was concerned chiefly with Photius, from whom sprang the Greek Schism which, but for brief interruptions, has endured down to the present. An interval of more than 250 years separated the last eastern council from the first of the West. When IV Constantinople took place in 869-870, the empire of Charlemagne had already disintegrated in the

hands of his incompetent successors, leaving Italy, France, and Germany a welter of petty states. Under strong warrior kings, Otto in Germany and Hugh Capet in France, anarchy gradually subsided; but during the whole period the Church suffered from three major closely-related evils—investiture, simony, and clerical immorality. The Church's efforts to bring about reform were dramatized in the struggle between pope and emperor over investiture. The Church finally triumphed and Pope Celestine II convoked the I Lateran in 1123 to signalize the victory and to enact into canons of the universal Church the laws of reform which had been formulated by many local synods.

The four general councils of the Lateran were spread over the high period of mediaeval development. By far the most important of these was the last —"the greatest (in effect) before Trent." Summoned by Innocent III in 1215, the council began by condemning the chief champions of heresy of that age—the Albigenses and the Pantheists. It then turned to review the life of the Church and to denounce the wickedness and weakness of its members—bishops, priests, religious, laity. In its many canons we see an earnest attempt to uproot those very abuses which three centuries later were to play such an important part in the propaganda of the Protestant reformers. The next three councils, two of Lyons and one of Vienne, were held in France for the simple reason that Rome lay in the hands of the pope's enemies. From the viewpoint of results, these are, perhaps, the least noteworthy among the councils, although II Lyons was marked by the temporary healing of the Eastern Schism. Before Vienne opened in 1311 Philip the Fair had risen to power, and under his baneful influence the so-called Babylonian Captivity of the popes had begun. More than 100 years passed before the next council met at Constance in 1414-1418. In 1378, persuaded by Catherine of Siena, Pope Gregory XI had returned to Rome. His death two months later was followed by the Great Western Schism, when for more than forty years two rival lines of popes struggled for control. The Council of Constance put an end to this scandalous episode, but the troubles engendered by the schism were to endure down to Trent. The seventeenth general council, Basel-Ferrara-Florence, was marked by the submission of the Greeks and other schismatic bodies. With the V Lateran, held under Leo X in 1512-1517, we come to the end of the pre-Reformation councils. The author ends his work with two excellent chapters on Trent and I Vatican which form a particularly good preparation for all those who will desire to follow intelligently the council which we now await.

Monsignor Hughes has provided an excellent summary of each of the Church's general councils: their definitions of doctrine, their disciplinary canons, their general accomplishments. An admirable feature of

this work is the historical setting in which he places each gathering. It is this historical element which supplies the thread of unity with which the author binds his twenty chapters into a single well organized whole. This is, indeed, a book to be possessed and read by every educated Catholic, and by others who wish to know what can be expected of the council for which such intense preparations are now being made.

✠ LAWRENCE J. SHEHAN
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The Church in Council. By E. I. Watkin. (New York: Sheed & Ward. 1961. Pp. 227. $3.95.)

This is more of a short history of the Church, woven around the councils, than primarily a study of the councils themselves. Was St. Cyril of Alexandria really as much of a bounder as one would infer from Chapter IV? . . . Is Boniface VIII's character worth defending? . . . It is bold, at the present time, to present arguments in favor of the legitimacy of the Pisan popes ("Alexander V" and "John XXIII") . . . It is interesting that the only cardinal to take part in the election of the anti-popes has subsequently been beatified. . . Such are the thoughts that remain in the reader's mind.

But would it not have been preferable for the author to have denied himself these "human interest" digressions, in favor of impressing upon the undistracted reader a clear picture, desired by many in face of the approaching council, of the dates, doctrines, and legislation of the previous ecumenical councils, with some explanation of how much of the legislation is still relevant today? Is, e.g., the prohibition by II Lateran Council of the use of catapults or the shooting of arrows, in warfare between Christians, still binding? This sort of question is better not raised unless a serious attempt is made to solve it. The remarks made in this context (p. 103, reiterated in the epilogue, p. 217) about the morality of nuclear warfare will seem exaggerated (although not so much, perhaps, to others as to Americans).

Readers might wonder why the degrees of III and IV Councils of Carthage "possess the authority of decrees passed by a General Council" (p. 41), and yet are not considered ecumenical, although there were other councils, with scarcely more international representation or greater show of subjection to the pope, which *are* considered ecumenical. It is not made entirely clear whether there is certainty as to what was or was not an ecumenical council in every case, or whether there is a certain rule, applicable in all cases, for determining this question indisputably. (Other councils in question: Constantinople IV, Pisa, Basel.)

Three of the councils, however, particularly relevant today, II Lyons, Trent, and the Vatican, are treated with admirable clarity, as are also the Nestorian and Monothelite heresies.

JULIAN STEAD

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S. Ambrogio e la sua età. By Angelo Paredi. (Milano: Editore Ulrico Hoepli. 1961. Pp. xvi, 564. Lire 3,300.)

In the 1930's J. R. Palanque and J. Holmes Dudden published outstanding scholarly works on St. Ambrose and his times, but we have long needed a shorter book on the great Bishop of Milan that would be at once authoritative and popular in the best sense. Monsignor Angelo Paredi, Assistant Director of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan, has produced just the kind of book that we hoped some day to have and it deserves a warm welcome. The author is abreast of the latest research in Ambrosian scholarship, he radiates his deep affection for St. Ambrose and Milan, and he writes in a beautifully clear and vivid style.

In eighteen chapters he covers every aspect of St. Ambrose's life and work. Through his intimate knowledge of the history of the Church and of the empire in the fourth century, he has described and interpreted accurately and sympathetically the major role played by his patron in the political as well as the religious life of his age. The narrative is frequently enlivened by quotations in Italian translated from the original sources. The reviewer would like to call attention in particular to Chapter XIII which bears the poetic title "La conquista più bella." With fine psychological insight, the author describes the conversion of St. Augustine and explains the reasons for lack of close personal relations between Ambrose and Augustine even after the latter's conversion.

Notes are furnished at the end of each chapter which give easy control of all original sources and modern works cited. The book is lavishly illustrated with a series of plates—one in color—and illustrations which are intended to recreate the cultural atmosphere of Milan and Italy in general in the fourth century. They are well chosen and are unusually clear. The main text is followed by a list of Ambrose's works, an excellent chronological table covering the years 303-452, a genealogical table of the Roman emperors within these years, an index of proper names, and an index of plates. The end papers contain a map of the dioceses of the empire and a map of north Italy in the age of St. Ambrose. It is clear from the bibliographical references given in each case that the author is well aware that a few works listed under St. Ambrose are not his. They should

have been excluded then from the list of genuine works. But this is a minor criticism. The book is beautifully printed and bound and the price is very reasonable for such a work. This is a book to be read and reread. It eminently deserves to be translated into English.

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

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Patrology. Volume III. *The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature from the Council of Nicaea to the Council of Chalcedon.* By Johannes Quasten. (Utrecht-Antwerp: Spectrum Publishers; Westminster: Newman Press. 1960. Pp. xxv, 605. $6.75.)

Upon the appearance of Professor Quasten's second volume, this journal [XL (October, 1954), 288-290] observed that it demonstrated "a master's knowledge of the texts and their critical problems and of current research as well." Surely the same judgment may be made again, for it would be difficult to conceive a work more superbly done than the present.

What is here given is a detailed survey of the great age in Greek patristic literature between 325 and 451 A.D. The limits are not mechanical. Understandably, at one end, notice is taken of the writings of both the priest Arius and Bishop Alexander of Alexandria which antedate Nicaea, while at the other, consideration is given to the encyclical of Gennadius of Constantinople and to the letter of Basil of Seleucia which belong to 458 or 459. The frame of reference is geographical as well as chronological, so that the first chapter deals with the Christian writers of Alexandria and Egypt, the second with the founders of Egyptian monasticism, the third with the theologians, etc., of Asia Minor, the fourth with the writers of Antioch, Syria, and Constantinople. While in the section on the Egyptians there is consideration of works composed in Coptic, and in the article on St. Athanasius attention is shown the Latin *Symbolum Quicumque,* this book is devoted otherwise to Greek authors. Consequently, Latin, Syriac, and Armenian compositions of this period are reserved for a subsequent volume. No doubt, the very mass of materials in Greek has dictated this approach, but it means that we must still await Dr. Quasten's judgment upon the western anti-Arian controversialists of this period. In the interim, of course, we have Berthold Altaner's excellent *Patrologie* (5th ed., Freiburg, 1958; English translation, Herder and Herder, 1960), though this has overlooked the African anti-Arian author of the *Contra Varimadum* (Migne, *PL,* 62, 351-434), an edition of which is now being prepared for the *Corpus Christianorum* [cf. B. Schwank in *Sacris Erudiri,* XII (1961), 112-196].

How extremely rich are Professor Quasten's bibliographical listings may be seen by comparing his treatment of Isidore of Pelusium (pp. 184-185) with the good, though far less exhaustive, indications supplied by the new *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche,* V (1960), 789. Some time ago this reviewer had occasion to examine Père Canivet's study of Theodoret of Cyrus' *Curatio* [cf. *Theological Studies,* XX (1959), 465-466]. He cannot help but be impressed by the manner in which this volume (pp. 542-544) has followed the recent literature and has mastered the intricacies of the question. With one minute exception, there does not seem to be anything of moment published prior to 1958 which has been missed in the vast bibliographical apparatus of this work. The one exception is not really an exception since it is not as yet *publici juris.* At page 351, note may be taken of the late Jean Leroy's *L'oeuvre oratoire de s. Fauste de Riez; la Collection Gallicane dite d'Eusèbe d'Emèse. Étude et texte critique* (2 vols., University of Strasbourg dissertation, 1954). Though unpublished (and so not listed in the bibliographies) Leroy's profound study was registered by *RHE,* L (1955), 318, and has been used, through the kindness of Professor Giet of Strasbourg, by the present reviewer as well as by E. Griffe of Toulouse in an article in the *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique,* LXI (1960), 27-38.

For each of the authors treated Father Quasten gives as complete a survey of life and writings as may properly be asked. In addition, for the major figures he provides extraordinary summations on their theological positions which are fresh, perceptive, and always first-hand. For this, his book ranks in eminence with J. N. D. Kelly's *Early Christian Doctrines* (London, 1958).

HENRY G. J. BECK

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Christ in Russia. The History, Tradition, and Life of the Russian Church. By Helene Iswolsky. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1960. Pp. x, 213. $3.95.)

Although this book should lead the general reader to a better understanding of the religious background of the Russian people, the author's undoubtedly sincere enthusiasm for her subject has resulted in a work lacking in scholarly objectivity and abounding in inaccuracies. Historical fact and legend are almost hopelessly confused, particularly in the first two chapters, which allot far too much space to the legends of St. Andrew, St. Clement, and the early Varangian period. Dvornik's interpretation of the Photian controversy (p. 19) is described as "authentic," an assertion certainly not acceptable without qualification. Prin-

cess Olga visited Constantinople in 957, not in 954 (p. 25). *Monomakhos* does not mean "one ruler" in Greek (p. 39). On page 41 we read that Moscow was founded in 1156, and on page 52 we learn that the same city "as we have said . . . had been founded in 1247." Two dates are given for the Union of Brest-Litovsk: 1591 (p. 65) and 1595 (p. 89). Neither the great church of Constantinople nor its counterparts in Kiev and Novgorod were dedicated to St. Sophia (p. 66), but to Christ, the Divine Wisdom; Ivan III married Sophia Paleologue in 1472, not in 1505, the year of his death (p. 71). Nikon was not elected patriarch in 1662 (p. 103) but ten years earlier. On page 125 the Eastern rite rosary is described, but on page 144 we are told that "they are not acquainted with the rosary." No source is given for the statement that there are between thirty-five and fifty million practicing Russian Orthodox in the Soviet Union (p. 133); this is merely a guess or a pious desire. Her explanation of the Pantokrator (p. 140) is not the usual one, and the "famous Pantokrator of Ravenna" simply does not exist.

Apart from the fact that this book is poorly, perhaps too hastily, written, there is an exceptional amount of inconsistency and inaccuracy in English usage and spelling; in some cases the same name is spelled in two different ways on the same page, e.g. Philotheus and Philoteus (p. 78), Moghila and Mohila (p. 89). In the introduction the author states: "we have studied all the works of Catholic authors versed in these questions" (p. vii). Yet, such names as Ammann, Olšr, Janin, Jugie, and the more pertinent works of Dvornik are surprisingly absent from the bibliography. In short, this is a book of contemporary significance which badly needs to be rewritten.

GEORGE T. DENNIS

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Les Crises de l'Inquisition Toulousaine au XIII^e Siècle (1233-1273). By Yves Dossat. (Bordeaux: Imprimerie Bière. 1959. Pp. 401. 22.50 N.F.)

The historiography of the mediaeval Inquisition is more impressive for quantity than quality. Its bulk is swelled by the nostrums of partisanship and unsubstantiated theorizing disguised as historical scholarship. To deflate this malignance there is need for serum in the form of dispassionate accounts like the present work, a heavily-annotated product of painstaking research. Popular consumption is not its intended destiny; but historians who must encounter the famed tribunal can ill afford to stay immune.

The records of this institution once constituted a rich, carefully guarded mine. Rarely, alas, have time and neglect so ravaged archives. Just a few

veins are left; and surprisingly they are by no means depleted. One of the richest of them, Ms. 609 of the Toulouse library, has awaited today for exhaustive exploration. Its 260 folios, in a copy executed soon after the original, contain over 5,400 depositions of suspects, almost all gathered in 1245-1246. Place and date magnify their importance. Toulouse, main inquisitorial center in France along with nearby Carcassonne, was then at its busiest against heresy. A description of the document, and a refining of its crude ore occupy about 100 pages, and provide the book's chief contribution; but not its sole one. A bibliography at the start (pp. 17-25) is valuable and up-to-date. Notable in Part I, "Les Sources" (pp. 27-86), is a history of the inquisitorial archives of Toulouse and Carcassonne, a catalogue of the content and current depositories of their widely dispersed remains, and a guide to printed reproductions of the texts. The widest interest belongs to Part II, "Le Tribunal et son Activité" (pp. 87-268), which traces the beginnings and first four decades of the Inquisition at Toulouse, both its external pursuits and its inner procedural development, portrayed as a series of crises. In fulness and accuracy it supersedes all previous expositions, even Guiraud's in 1938. Widely held views are occasionally jolted, e.g., extracting evidence by torture was not, in the author's estimate, employed at this time. "Un fait demeure sûr: rien, jusqu'aux environs de 1260 permet d'affirmer que la torture ait employée par les inquisiteurs méridionaux" (p. 215). This conclusion sounds more remarkable when it is realized that spontaneous witnesses were the exception, even during the "time of grace," and perjurers the rule. Regarding penalties some upsetting observations are proffered after a minute scrutiny of the sources (admittedly very incomplete in this respect) and the reduction of the findings to a series of charts. Dossat deduces that the inquisitors did not abuse their extensive powers, but preferred in the overwhelming majority of cases penalties of a lighter kind: pilgrimages or the wearing of crosses. The latter penance was decreed by Bernard de Caux (whose labors are recorded in Ms. 609) for practically all guilty persons, even relapsed heretics, save for one in nine ordered to prison. (The traditional opinion that prison was the only sentence this famous inquisitor knew is shown to derive from a faulty inference from the fact that his sentences to prison are the sole portion of his register of sentences extant.) He is not known to have consigned anyone to the stake; nor do his successors up to 1273 appear to have done so in more than one percent of their sentences. About one-fourth of those consigned to prison are thought to have avoided entering a cell. Neglect of wearing crosses was common.

Part III, "Le Tribunal et la Puissance séculière" (pp. 269-320) briefly recalls the relation between the Inquisition and the state, but most of

the attention here is devoted to an examination of confiscation records, a long neglected source independent of the Inquisition. As beneficiary of properties seized from heretics, the civil power in its turn must support the Inquisition and its prisons. Government agents kept very detailed accounts of all income and expenditure. From one of them an interesting chapter (pp. 89-100) recreates the manner of life of the inquisitors. It would have been well to have inserted also a description of these sources, which have undergone losses comparable to those of the Inquisition. Nor is it clear that the available sources are used to full advantage. (Certainly this is true in the case of one of these documents, published in part in the *Revue du Tarn* in 1905.) Dossat concludes that once expenses were met, the net income from confiscations was not impressive (p. 319). He thereby demolishes a favorite thesis of Lea (who did not utilize this source), that zeal for prosecuting heretics was fired by greed for material gain. Closing the book are the texts of twenty-six documents (pp. 325-356) and an excellent index (pp. 359-396). Before the final word is ready on the formidable tribunal, others must emulate M. Dossat and prospect as laboriously as he has done.

JOHN F. BRODERICK

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Talleyrand: the Cardinal of Périgord. By Norman P. Zacour. (Philadelphia: Transactions of the American Philosophical Society. 1960. Pp. 83. $2.00.)

For more than thirty years of the Avignonese papacy, Talleyrand, the Cardinal of Périgord (1301-1364), was a power in the Sacred College, whence his principal interest to scholars. As a younger son of the Count of Périgord he was marked for a career in the Church from his early childhood, and it was partly with the aid of benefices granted him by the pope that he pursued the study of law. His meteoric rise owed something to the fact that he was related to Pope John XXII, more to long loyalty of his family to the French monarchy in a period when the papacy, "while not subservient to the French crown, was certainly sensitive to its needs. . . ." Like many of the cardinals of the fourteenth century, Talleyrand was a lawyer, not a theologian, and counted a large company of legal advisers in the establishment which he maintained. Like so many cardinals, too, he was deeply involved in political affairs, usually with an eye to advancing the fortunes of members of his family. Petrarch, whom Talleyrand admired and protected, spoke highly of his legal acumen and eloquence, although he was inclined to be amused at his interest in humanism. Talleyrand's most important assignment was that of mediating the Hundred Years War between Edward III and John II, and while his success was hardly significant, no one could have accomplished more. He

did succeed in easing somewhat the tension between England and the papacy, which the author, incidentally, exaggerates. For most of his years as cardinal, Talleyrand was the acknowledged leader of the French party which dominated the Sacred College, played an influential role in the election of four popes, and was himself the leading candidate in 1362 following the death of Innocent VI. His will attests to his great wealth, his numerous bequests to his genuine interest in the Church, and to his personal concern about the well being of the members of his official family.

In his careful scrutiny of the principal sources relating to Talleyrand and this period of the Avignon residence, Mr. Zacour has turned up little new information, although he has demonstrated the general unreliability of much of the contemporary evidence, which, even if reliable, would not be sufficient to present a clear picture of the times. This inadequacy often forces the author to qualify his statements, e.g., "It would have been ironic, indeed, for one who worked so hard against the return of the papacy to Rome as Talleyrand *probably* (italics mine) did. . . ." The appendix contains among other information a long list of the benefices held by Talleyrand, although in view of the cardinal's great services to "Church and society," the author believes "it would be difficult to maintain that his rewards were excessive. Furthermore, despite the many accusations of corruption in the Avignonese curia, we find absolutely no sign of it in the career of one of its most outstanding members."

Joseph H. Dahmus

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The English Mystical Tradition. By David Knowles. (New York: Harper & Bros. 1961. Pp. viii, 197. $3.75.)

This is a remarkable book of which it would be difficult to exaggerate either the interest or the importance. It is not the first one on this subject that the Regius professor of modern history at Cambridge has written, but, as he tells us himself, this book repeats but little of *The English Mystics,* and it takes generous note of all the work that has been done since its publication in 1928 on the four great English mystical writers of the fourteenth century (Richard Rolle, the still unidentified author of *The Cloud of Unknowing,* Walter Hilton, and Julian of Norwich), and the seventeenth-century Augustine Baker. It adds a full chapter on Margery Kempe, whose book was discovered only in 1934, but it omits the *Ancren Riwle* on grounds of genre with which one can hardly quarrel, much as one would like the benefit of Father Knowles' continuing thought on that very engaging topic. This book differs from the earlier work, too, in its approach to the writers involved, deliberately stressing

their doctrines primarily, and only secondarily their personal or literary interest.

It is for this reason that he begins his study with a summary of the development of Christian mysticism that is quite the best introduction to this difficult subject I have seen, for it combines both range and precision to an extraordinary degree, and yet for all its compactness manages to convey the excitement of some very varied conquests of the supreme human experience. The author is not only a theologian but an historian, and he never forgets that even the most well established traditions are influenced in their action upon the individual by his particular historical context. The fourteenth century, in spite of its great achievements, a time "of disruption, dissolution and revolution" (p. 41), was characterized on the intellectual side by a "flight from metaphysics to formal logic," the resemblance of which to the trend of the last two decades Father Knowles points out, and on the literary by an "inward-looking character," favorable to the mystical approach (pp. 42-43).

Father Knowles has an enthusiasm for *The Cloud of Unknowing* that will be widely shared, though there are not many who could so authoritatively define its real significance as "the earliest instance in any vernacular literature of a direct, practical, non-schematic instruction in the entrance and progress in the contemplative life understood (as it has been ever since) as the life of mystical, infused prayer" (p. 99). Hilton Father Knowles regards as quite as distinguished in a different way as the unknown author of *The Cloud,* for all his obvious use of the Fathers and the great medieval mystical writers, "perhaps unconsciously almost as revolutionary as the author of *The Cloud* in his abandonment of arbitrary divisions of the soul and of allegorical interpretations of Scripture in favour of a homely and practical analysis of the devout life and of the ascetical preparation needed for one embarking upon a life tending towards spiritual perfection" (p. 104).

Father Knowles finely redresses what has too often been a somewhat sentimental approach to Julian of Norwich, stressing the power of her mind "to wrestle with the deepest mysteries of theology and life," and placing her in "her sobriety, as in her depth . . . very high among the women mystics of the middle ages" (p. 135). The present reader is less sure of his verdict on Rolle. He recognizes his breadth of reading and his influence as a popular teacher (p. 52), but he is convinced that "the claims that he makes for himself and for his experiences are too high; rather, perhaps, we should say that he fails altogether, through lack of experience and of knowledge, to reckon with the higher degrees of the mystical life" (p. 53). And Margery Kempe, he concludes, "can only improperly and accidentally be classed among the English mystics" (p.

149), perhaps a more honest recognition of the destructiveness of vulgarization than some other estimates of that sensational yet revealing figure.

The influence of the English mystics in their homeland was to be cut off by the changes of the sixteenth century. The one parallel to their work in post-Reformation Catholicism is Father Augustine Baker's *Sancta Sophia,* "the only original work in English that gives magisterial guidance over a great part of the spiritual life" (p. 153). The present reader remembers vividly a first reaction to meeting Baker, now many years ago, that here was a great academic, an encyclopedist of mystical literature. That seems to be Father Knowles' much more informed conclusion in a situation still too imperfectly explored for final judgment (p. 174).

For his standard of what constitutes a mystic, Father Knowles appeals most often to St. John of the Cross. That is, needless to say, an exacting approach. It makes the more impressive his conclusion: "The English mystics, however regarded, and whatever may have been their shortcomings and obscurities, form a group which for the force and purity of their traditional doctrine, and for the unusual attractions both of their personalities and of their style of writing, is unequalled by any other single regional or national group in the later medieval world" (p. 193).

HELEN C. WHITE
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L'Hérésie de Jean Huss—Hussiana. By Paul de Vooght. (Louvain: Editions Nauwelaerts. 1960. Two Volumes. Pp. xix, 494; vii, 450. Frs. belges 350 and 400.)

This two-volume work represents an effort to penetrate anew the story of Jan Hus, the mediaeval Czech preacher who was condemned as a heretic by the Council of Constance in 1415. The author, a Belgian Benedictine, does not explain why he has undertaken this task. He merely asserts that he would like to depict Hus as he really was—with the implication that this has never been done before. Jan Hus certainly belongs—above all as far as Czech historiography is concerned—to those historical personalities whose life and ideas will be evaluated again and again—perhaps, mainly because of his tragic death and the subsequent calamities in mediaeval Bohemia. But, in a case such as this, every new work, if it is to be accepted as a serious contribution to historical knowledge, has to include some evaluation of the already extant studies and investigations. A historian is certainly free to criticize and, perhaps, even to condemn his predecessors— but is he entitled to ignore them? In this respect, de Vooght's bibliography and the entire material on which

his thesis is built look highly suspicious. He ignores completely publications of men of great erudition—such as the Augustianian friar, A. Neumann, who had spent decades in discovering and editing manuscripts relevant to Hus' story, and Professor Rudolf Holinka whose learned work on Archbishop Jan of Jenštýn (published by the University of Bratislava Press in 1933) had placed this great prelate and theologian high above the status given to him by de Vooght himself. The younger generation of Czech mediaevalists are likewise ignored—Jaroslav Polc, Pavel Zelivan, Ludvík Urbánek—whose penetrating studies have thrown much new light on the religious story of the fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century Bohemia. While these and others are bypassed in silence, the bibliography of de Vooght's work consists mostly of texts and studies published, under the auspices of the present Marxist rulers of Czechoslovakia and in their state publishing houses, by persons notorious for their general lack of erudition and servile Marxism, e.g., Jeschke, Schmidtová, Graus, Gregor, etc., and of a few other works of dubious merit by men highly prejudiced against the spirit of the mediaeval Church, such as Novotný and Kybal.

The method and the basic foundations of de Vooght's two volumes are thus placed in a most dubious light, and his conclusions are of no greater merit. His lack of ability to grasp and to understand the spiritual and intellectual climate of the epoch in which Jan Hus lived is, perhaps, the most evident characteristic of this confused and confusing publication. It has been demonstrated long ago by Sedlák, Holinka, Neumann *et al.* that Hus was only a minor figure in the story of the late mediaeval religious movement in Bohemia and that it was only his condemnation at Constance which, paradoxically, had pushed him out in front of men intellectually much riper and more productive than he was. These men, e.g., Koldic, Janov, Jenštýn, Stanislav of Znojmo, and Páleč, receive hardly any justice at the hands of Father Paul de Vooght. But even had the author decided to study only and exclusively Hus, he should at least have tried to understand the ideas and the struggles of the epoch. The last chapter of the second volume, dealing with Hus' contemporary, St. John Nepomucene, is, perhaps, the most astonishing illustration of how restricted de Vooght's capability is in this respect. It is, indeed, sad and even tragic to see a Benedictine monk calumniating a canonized saint of the Church and pushing aside, with a haughty remark (p. 421, n. 19), the just and scholarly defense of St. John Nepomucene, which a non-Catholic historian, Josef Pekař, published some forty years ago and which no informed research has as yet contradicted. As a whole, this puerile and uninformed work hardly deserves the attention of any serious student of mediaeval history.

BOHDAN CHUDOBA

Iona College

La Elección y Reforma del Episcopado Español en Tiempo de los Reyes Católicos. By Tarsicio de Azcona, O.F.M.Cap. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicos. Instituto "P. Enrique Flórez." 1960. Pp. xviii, 382. 140 pesetas.)

During the days of Ferdinand and Isabella the Spanish episcopate experienced a profound modification. An outsider would call it centralization, a quite superficial view. *Los Reyes Católicos* thought in other terms. Bishops, they argued, exercise an imponderable influence on the social life of individuals and states. Insofar as their impact is on men who are at the same time citizens and Christians, their directing and controlling powers are a most important matter to the sovereign. Hence they must be well chosen, well comported, and dependable adjutants of the crown. In 1474 at the accession of Isabella, the bishops presented a turbulent picture, their Primate of Toledo the incarnation of war and rebellion. In 1516 when Ferdinand died, an observer would have noted both purity of life and loyalty to the nation as characteristics of the Spanish hierarchy. Isabella began the change when in 1475 she told Rome that no foreigners could hold her bishoprics. She meant to form a sound body of bishops from among her Catholic subjects. They must be more carefully ruled and checked than the ordinary citizen. And—looking back on her own experience—they must be ready at all times to stand up for the sovereign. Innocent VIII wrote just that into the bull of Granada.

The process of change is the theme of Father de Azcona. It required royal understanding and strength. The author presents a splendid account of the diplomacy that obtained the bull of Granada in 1486. That grant, aside from its strategic value in overcoming the Moors, enabled the rulers to make Granada into a pilot-plant for creating a new image of the hierarchy. In it the pope gave them not only patronage over the conquered kingdom, but he entrusted to them the right of presentation to every major office in the Granadine Church. And yet his bull had very sharply drawn boundaries. Its blunt "Nullum aliud jus" and its promise to take back the proffered right of presentation if it were misused, is a model of papal caution.

Many lesser episodes, of struggle or accommodation between crown and bishop, throw light on the central interest of this book. On one point the reviewer would take issue. This is Azcona's flat statement that Adrian VI in 1523 extended the full powers of the bull of Granada to all of Spain, just as Julius II in 1508 had actually done for the Indies. One has but to read the concordat drawn by the great canonist Benedict XIV in 1753 to see that up to that date no royal right of presentation to the bishoprics was enjoyed by the kings. Azcona promises to prove his point in a future study (p. 197, n. 81). His work is very

thorough, and without party spirit. The bibliography, while a solid ten pages, does not list half of the works found cited in footnotes. A spirit of candor runs through the whole inquiry, with plenty of room allowed for new findings or dissenting opinion. The reader, though, is struck by the apparent lack of awareness of an obvious defect in the system of patronage and presentation, viz., the built-in tendency to consider it Catholic and at the same time to withdraw from papal supervision of the very lieutenants of the commander-in-chief at Rome.

W. EUGENE SHIELS

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Cincinnati

Margaret Roper: Eldest Daughter of St. Thomas More. By E. E. Reynolds. (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1960. Pp. x, 149. $3.95.)

This moving book is the sort of thing which makes one wonder why no one has written it sooner. Mr. Reynolds is diffident in his preface. "One cannot," he says, "write a year-by-year biography of Margaret Roper as the materials are so unevenly distributed over the forty years of her life." Historians, of course, have a weakness for thinking that if you cannot say everything you should therefore say nothing, as if our judgments at the best of times can ever be more than partial. Fortunately, Mr. Reynolds went ahead, gaps in his sources regardless, and the result is a full-length portrait of Margaret Roper, as grand a woman as one could wish to meet in that rather unattractive sixteenth century.

No one can read Margaret Roper's letters to her father, St. Thomas More, and his to her without being lifted up, however temporarily, to a view of higher things. A book on either of them is inevitably full of "piety towards God and charity to all." She was Thomas More's favorite child and he, "Mine own most beloved father." "More than all the rest of his children," Stapleton wrote, "she resembled her father, as well in stature, appearance and voice as in mind and general character." To her he wrote most often from the Tower—and what letters they are, those from his prison cell, the last one written with a lump of coal. To Margaret he looked for understanding when no one understood his attitude of mind; for affections when his friends found it unprofitable to be friends any longer. And she, "My well-beloved child," would ask, "Father, what moved them to shut you up again? We can nothing hear."

Could he not take the oath, she wondered, when "you see so many so good men and well learned men swear before you." That was the peculiar agony of More, his isolation and the ease with which an entire hierarchy could fail. We see now, as Professor David Knowles pointed

out in a recent lecture to the Catholic Record Society, that those Henrician bishops were not confused. The preambles to the oaths leave no room for confusion as to Henry's intentions. And no theologian of any age had denied that the Church could rightly regard the pope as her head. Nor was there any sort of precedent for Henry's preposterous claims.

But More's greatest agony were the well-intentioned importunities of those he loved most—of his daughter Margaret in particular. It really did need, as Ronald Knox put it, "a martyr's heroism to resist the appeals of Margaret Roper." In one lost letter to her father, Margaret feared her own frailty. He wrote back: "That you fear your own frailty Margaret nothing misliketh me. God give us twain the grace to dispair of our own self, and whole to depend and hang upon the hope and strength of God . . . Surely Meg, a fainter heart than thy frail father hath, canst you not have?" That light on Thomas More makes this book so well worth the writing.

The final chapters have the atmosphere of Holy Thursday evening. Enemies lurking, Cromwell bland and evil, telling fables and enjoying high diplomacy and "the fort betrayed of them that should have defended it" and the friends all fled. A dark time. St. Thomas now certain of his end, now aware that he had "given the devil a foul fall," and therefore relaxed, asked how the Queen (Anne) was. "Never better," said Margaret. "Never better," quoth he. "Alas, Meg, alas. It pitieth me to remember into what misery, poor soul she shall shortly come." Did he have the gift of prophecy, or was he the one man in England with his eyes open?

Educated to a level rare at any time, but no blue-stocking, Margaret Roper fulfilled the hopes of her father. He believed that "a woman should add to eminent virtue even a moderate knowledge of letters." And in this book is a long letter from St. Thomas to Gonell, one of the family tutors, a letter giving More's educational aims. It is a kind of *ratio studiorum*, a formidable programme which had striking results. Margaret had Latin and Greek so perfectly that even Eramus was impressed.

In the end she needed the eminent virtue, the courage of a great woman even more than the learning. Her father's head, "by order of the king was placed upon London bridge where it remained for nearly a month, until it was taken down to make room for other heads . . . and it would have been thrown in the river had not Margaret Roper, who had been watching for the opportunity, bribed the executioner . . . and obtained the sacred relic." They buried the head in Canterbury cathedral and wrote on the wall above the place, "Ut Ecclesia Anglicana Libera Sit." Any book which adds to our knowledge of Thomas More is valuable. This is not to say that Margaret Roper is without a clear identity of her own.

But as the volume is composed of their letters to each other they emerge together redeeming with rare clarity that depressing age in which they lived.

MICHAEL O'DWYER

Westminster Cathedral
London

I Domenicani al Concilio di Trento. By Angelo Walz, O.P. (Roma: Casa Editrice Herder. 1961. Pp. xvi, 438. Lire 3,500; DM 28.—).

The Council of Trent continues to attract the critical gaze of contemporary historians. Already two volumes of Hubert Jedin's *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient* have appeared, and as their excellence indicates, this work will long be considered the full-dress synthesis of that stormy Renaissance synod. However, since Jedin's objective is to construct a thorough but binocular glance, other studies by other historians will stand alongside to provide fuller information when sought. The book under review is such a volume.

Since 1942, the quatricentennial of the first convocation of the council to Trent, Father Walz has interested himself in the activities of the Dominican friars throughout the debates, negotiations, and the stratagems needed to speed along the theological discussions. He published the results of his searchings in several learned journals during the following years, e.g., *Angelicum* (1945, 1950-1953), *Revista del Concilio* (1942, 1943, 1947), and *Sapienza* (1948). These articles have now been gathered together, expanded, and after some chronological reorganization, printed anew in this book. This is not the first time that the far-reaching Dominican influence at the council has been brought into an unified presentation. In 1948 Venanzio Carro, O.P., known for his study of P. de Soto, O.P., wrote a history of the Dominicans at Trent [*Los Dominicos y el concilio de Trento* (Salamanca, 1948)]. His search, however, was largely restricted to theological dynamics, so that his book became a fine genesis of the dogmatic definitions that grew out of debate. Father Walz is interested in placing these debates in surer historical focus, and in this broadened plan is able to include also the disciplinary legislation that became the platform of accelerated Catholic reform.

The author, after a preliminary chapter describing Dominican forces in pre-Tridentine councils, introduces the large number of Dominican theologians who were vocal during the three stages of Trent. As a help to keep these many names alive and traceable, some of which have been lost to time, he provides a valuable list that indicates nationality, individual sees (if they were prelates), and the years in which they were active in conciliar discussions. To this reviewer the most notable section is that which deals with the Bolognese phase of the council. While it is true

that no dogmatic decrees were arrived at during these months, still it is at this period that a major portion of the doctrinal disputes occurred over penance, indulgences, etc. Readers who are acquainted with the numerous books and monographs that have come from the pen of Father Walz during the last forty years will find the same command of sources and will also experience a sympathy with these Renaissance theologians who wrestled with terminology in order to produce a suitable expression of ancient dogmas. They will also be inclined to agree that while the *Summa* of St. Thomas might not have been placed upon the altar together with the revealed writings, it was emphatically "un'autorità di prim'ordine" (p. 315).

EDWARD D. MCSHANE

Alma College

Elizabeth I and the Religious Settlement of 1559. By Carl S. Meyer. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House. 1960. Pp. viii, 182. $4.95.)

Inevitably this slender volume must fail to fulfil the promise of its title. It does, indeed, resume the history of the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, describes the Prayer Book of 1559 and the Thirty-Nine Articles of 1563, and relates the parliamentary history of the two statutes. It considers the reaction of the two sections of the population to whom all this was less than welcome, the Catholics and the Puritans. But of the queen's role in the parliament of 1559—the heart of the settlement—the book can tell us very little, for though much has been guessed, all too little is actually known.

The author guides the reader over the surface of this complex national crisis without ever a sign of partisan feeling, a rare merit in historians who are also interested in theology. But there are disconcerting failures, here and there, which must be noticed.

It is mere detail that the Catholic bishop, Richard Pate, died in custody, not in exile; that Catherine de Médici cannot have been one of the subjects of Knox's attacks in his anti-feminist *Blast;* that Elizabeth never made any objection to the title Defender of the Faith. It is serious to minimize the queen's pretense of Catholicism during her sister's reign; to omit (in the account of her coronation) that she deliberately swore an oath she had no intention of keeping; or to leave out of the summary of the Act of Supremacy that it stigmatized as heresy beliefs contrary to the decrees of the first four general councils. To say of Archbishop Heath, deposed by Elizabeth in 1559, "Unlike Thomas Cranmer, whose writ for execution he had issued, he lived in retirement until his death in 1579," is bad history. For, as regards the first point, it was one of the routine duties of the lord chancellor's office to issue such writs, not a thing the law left to the chancellor's choice; and as regards the second

point, Heath passed those twenty years sometimes in actual custody and always under supervision. The evidence for this last statement can be found in either of the classic works on the subject, T. E. Bridgett and G. E. Phillips, neither of which is even mentioned by this author. Again, with reference to this group of bishops, it is strange to find Dr. Meyer reviving the story of the joint audience in which they (allegedly) warned Elizabeth of the sin of apostasy, and the queen defied them—a fable rejected for a good 150 years now, and known to be the production of a late seventeenth-century controversialist.

The author, although he quotes the famous "Supplentes" clause in the royal commission authorizing the consecration of Matthew Parker, does not even so much as mention the grave dilemma which the clause was intended to solve—the Act of Supremacy, 1559, establishing how bishops must be consecrated, had made no provision for the possibility that the existing (Catholic) bishops would refuse to act. There were, by the very act, no other "lawful" consecrators; nor was there any lawful rite, the Catholic rite being proscribed and no other rite "established by Parliament." The "Supplentes" clause worked until Edmund Bonner challenged the legality of the new consecrations, and the government's act of 1567, validating them, was an admission that from 1559-1567 its bishops had been illegal intruders, and the "Supplentes" clause void of effect. Some mention of this there should have been where the author is puzzling over the long delay between Parker's election and his consecration.

It is surprising that W. P. M. Kennedy's invaluable study of Elizabethan parish life has not been used. Also, all too frequently, the author seems to consider the *text* of Strype as a reliable source. S. R. Maitland whom Dr. Meyer quotes—but has surely not always read very carefully, e.g., his confusing the two John Bradfords, in the teeth of the text he refers to—should have preserved him from this error, e.g., such warnings as ". . . the unsuspecting simplicity with which Strype received and adopted every statement proceeding from what he considered the right side . . . We must receive what [Strype] says [about the manuscripts he collected] with a constant recollection that, in his estimation, one old manuscript appears to have been about as good as another."

PHILIP HUGHES
University of Notre Dame

Christopher Davenport: Friar and Diplomat. By John Berchmans Dockery, O.F.M. (London: Burns & Oates, 1960. Pp. 180. 21/—.)

After 300 years Christopher Davenport (or Francis of Sancta Clara, to use his religious name) has finally got his first full length biography, and it is one which he would probably have liked. For he would have

seen a book of modest purpose and proportions, written by a fellow Franciscan with a fellow flair for sympathy and industriousness. Especially in their ecumenism, working at a Roman-Anglican dialogue, author and subject are in perfect accord. In the history of this dialogue Davenport occupies a place of honor; his commentary on the Thirty-nine Articles, written in 1634 as a part of his *Deus, Natura, Gratia*, was the first attempt to give them a Catholic interpretation. All subsequent writings in the Anglo-Catholic tradition—with Newman's *Tract XC*, perhaps, the most notable—stem in some manner from the work of this greatest of the English Franciscans of the seventeenth century. But there were some defects in Davenport's work, and Father John Berchmans' failure to signalize them is not the best way to honor Davenport's real greatness.

It is not that Dockery avoids the controversy that swirled around *Deus, Natura, Gratia;* he gives three of his eight chapters to this central phase of his subject's life. However, his discussion is almost exclusively about what contemporaries—Catholic and Protestant—thought of the book. What the book actually says is summarized quite inadequately in an appendix where Dockery merely lists the Thirty-nine Articles with a phrase or two on whether and to what extent each article is "Catholic." Not only is this inadequate; it has already been done by at least three previous writers, viz., Albion, Klaus, and Nédoncelle. What has not been done, at least in published form, is a detailed analysis of Davenport's "paraphrastic exposition," with particular attention paid to the *loci* of his arguments. Such a study would reveal Davenport's failure to see his problem as an essentially historical one. He was too much the logician—and the optimist—to see the real Anglicanism of the 1630's behind its Laudian facade. This ill-founded effort ended up more ironic than irenic, as Davenport himself in his later works ruefully implies. These later works (thirteen in number) are briefly described by Dockery—too briefly, in my opinion; for they contain the context of Davenport's mature thinking not only on the Anglican situation, but on many of the philosophical and theological currents of his day. To by-pass, e.g., the question of Jansenism, or to relegate Aristotelian physics to a footnote (p. 101, n. 2), is to isolate the man from the very contemporaries Dockery so assiduously quotes elsewhere. Excepting these errors—if such, indeed, they are—in proportion and emphasis, clearly the major defect of the book is its undistinguished prose. That the sheer vigor of Davenport's vision and labors still manage to emerge above the dead level of Dockery's reporting proves rather tangibly his essential greatness. Francis of Sancta Clara remains what he has been for three centuries: a man whom both friends and enemies have not quite forgotten.

ROBERT I. BRADLEY

New York City

Worship and Theology in England: From Watts and Wesley to Maurice, 1690-1850. By Horton Davies. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1961. Pp. xiv, 355. $7.50.)

Volume III of a promised work of several volumes covering the history of religious worship in England since the Reformation, this is the first of the series to be published. If the succeeding volumes meet the standards of scholarship, literary style, and critical judgment set here, Professor Davies will have made a significant contribution to the history of religion and to the history of England.

The controlling idea of the book is that "the study of the aspiration and adoration of entire Christian communions and communities is a profound clue to the interpretation of religious life . . . as important as the consideration of the ideas of individual theologians" (pp. 6-7). Appropriately for our time, the author is motivated by ecumenical considerations: he laments the divisions of Christendom as a scandal, but thinks, in line with the Church of South India and subsequent developments, "that we are likelier to attain unity in worship than in doctrinal consensus" (p. 9).

The study is divided on the basis of prevailing religious tendencies into three parts covering unequal periods of years. Part I, subtitled the "Dominance of Rationalistic Moralism," concerns itself with prayer, preaching, hymnody, the belief in and use of sacraments, church architecture, and ecclesiology among the religious groups to be found in England, 1690-1740. The treatment of the older groups—Anglicans, Puritans, Independents, and Presbyterians—is well organized and well written but contains nothing significantly new in fact or interpretation. The chapters on the more radical groups, the Unitarians and the extreme leftists (Quakers and Baptists, General and Particular) are remarkably clear brief summaries, enlivened and given depth by apt quotation and sharply incisive generalizations. Take, e.g., this estimate of the Quakers:

> It is now possible to see how far the Friends of the eighteenth century had fallen away from their forefathers. Their worship was a withdrawal from the world, without any desire to return into it. They were now embracing the very "cloistered and fugitive virtue" which they existed to combat. . . . The prophets of a new age of the Spirit had become inoffensive, bourgeois eccentrics! Revolution and rapture had been succeeded by retirement, innovation by innocuousness. (p. 123)

Part II is the heart of the book. Here Professor Davies makes his most distinctive original contribution in a detailed comparative analysis of the preaching and prayer of the founders of Methodism, Whitefield and Wesley. This is followed by the study of the growth of the evangelical party within the Anglican communion, 1740-1830. Whitefield, with all his faults, emerges as the ideal evangelist; a formal liturgy based on the Book of Common Prayer as the basic standard of excellence in worship; and

Charles Simeon's carefully planned, scriptural sermons as the model for pulpit oratory.

The years 1830-1850 are the subject of Part III. With the Oxford Movement's insistence on sacramental life, liturgical worship, and heightened church ceremony, Professor Davies is in sympathy. He is far less comfortable with other aspects of the Tractarian position. Their way of going from *fides* to *fiducia,* from dogma to devotion, he contrasts unfavorably with Luther's emphasis on *fiducia* as "the trust and obedience of love." He finds their traditionalism perilously close to a mere static antiquarianism. He differs sharply with their sacramental theology and their concept of the Church as a society of divine origin independent of the State. He chides them (surely with some injustice when one remembers Miss Sellon's Sisterhood, Carter of Clewer, Mackonochie, and others) with a lack of any active sense of social justice.

It is with something like relief that Professor Davies turns to Frederick Denison Maurice, in whom he discovers "the central meaning of churchmanship in the nineteenth century Church of England" (p. 284). To those who have been wont with Halévy to dismiss Maurice as "an eccentric theologian" this will seem a surprising evaluation. Davies justifies it (and Maurice's importance for the ecumenical movement) by what he terms Maurice's "sound and comprehensive theology" (p. 293) with its three fundamental principles: that the kingdom of heaven *is* an existing reality on earth, not something yet to be built; that God is to be obeyed and worshipped, not intellectually known nor spiritually experienced; that Christianity is not so much a doctrine as a life to be lived in God, with other people. It is interesting that Archbishop Ramsey, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, shares Professor Davies' esteem for Maurice and his thought.

It is, perhaps, presumptuous of one who is not a theologian to suggest that before publishing the other volumes in the series, Professor Davies should refresh his memory on the precise Catholic doctrines of transubstantiation, grace, the sacramental mode of being, and the ever-misunderstood *ex opere operato.* G. K. Chesterton's *Life of St. Thomas Aquinas,* listed in the bibliography, needs to be supplemented by the *Summa Theologica,* III, Qq. lx through lxxxiii, and by either Dom Anscar Vonier's *Key to the Doctrine of the Eucharist* or the volume by Marie-Joseph Nicolas, O.P., in the Twentieth Century Encyclopedia of Catholicism, *What is the Eucharist?* And before the next printing of this volume, "Cisterians" (p. 43) should be corrected to read *Cistercians,* "Don" Gregory Dix (p. 103) to *Dom* Gregory Dix, and (p. 311) "it universality" to *its* universality. These are small flaws, but they mar an otherwise outstanding example of the printer's art.

SISTER ALBERTUS MAGNUS MCGRATH

Rosary College

Brother Solomon: Martyr of the French Revolution. By W. J. Battersby. (London: Burns & Oates. 1960. Pp. vi, 181. 30s.)

Brother Solomon—"Citizen" Nicolas Le Clercq—was one of the victims of the September Massacres of 1792 beatified by Pope Pius XI in recognition of their martyrdom for refusing to take the civil oath signifying acceptance of the schismatic Constitutional Church. After his arrest on August 15, 1792, Brother Solomon was committed to the Carmelite monastery, one of several prisons then rapidly filling with non-juring clergy who, unknown to themselves, were already marked for death. Born in 1745 of devout middle class parents in Boulogne, Brother Solomon had joined the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools in 1767, serving successively as teacher, novice master, and bursar. Twenty years later, on the eve of the Revolution, he was named secretary to the Superior-General, Brother Agathon.

The final and most interesting section is a well documented account of the brothers' efforts to preserve their institute in the face of the mounting anticlerical tide. This involved voluminous correspondence with the scattered houses of the brothers to offer such assurances and directives as were possible in view of the very uncertain future as well as the preparation of detailed memorials on the work of the institute for both the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies in the hope that their solid educational contributions might win for them some mitigation of the laws. Brother Solomon's visits to the home of Brissot, whose wife was his cousin, were also for this purpose. Property confiscations and uncertainty as to the future status of their vows were matters of grave concern. The brothers, as a teaching institute, were not directly affected by the initial decrees suspending religious vows, but they were apprehensive for the future. Although they were not at first required to take the civil oath prescribed for the clergy, their intransigent refusal to recognize the juring clergy was met by the decree of March, 1791, requiring teachers as well as priests to take the oath. Since they, too, now became "non-jurors," the brothers were faced with the closing of their schools, and finally the decree suppressing all religious orders which became law three days after Brother Solomon's arrest. During the preceding weeks he and Brother Agathon had been preparing for the inevitable by collecting for safe-keeping the archives of the institute, attempting to negotiate a financial settlement for the professed members, and as a final resort, seeking to establish new houses outside of France. Dr. Battersby, himself a Christian Brother, has effectively traced the crises leading to its dissolution. It would be fitting and useful if he would follow this with a study of its rebuilding after the Revolution.

ALICE M. CHRISTENSEN

Our Lady of the Lake College

Der Josephinismus. Quellen zu seiner Geschichte in Österreich, 1760-1850. Volume V, *Lockerung und Aufhebung des Josephinismus, 1820-1850.* By Ferdinand Maass [Fontes rerum Austriacarum, Diplomataria et acta, Volume 75, Part II.] (Vienna and Munich: Verlag Herold. 1961. Pp. xx, 776. Cloth S 320; paper S 295.)

This volume, which brings to a conclusion Father Maass' exhaustive study of legislation affecting the position of the Church in Habsburg lands from the days of Maria Theresa, like its predecessors is divided into two parts: a commentary (170 pages) and a collection of documents drawn from the Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv and the Allgemeine Verwaltungsarchiv in Vienna as well as from the Archivio Segreto Vaticano in Rome. That makes a long opening sentence for a review, but not nearly so long as those found on nearly every page of this volume. It may also be noted that modern officialese in Washington cannot begin to compare with that of Vienna in the early nineteenth century.

Four chapters of the excellent introductory essay cover the period 1820-1850 chronologically, and three chapters, organized according to subject matter, discuss in detail the problem of abolishing the use of two widely used textbooks on canon law, the restoration of the Jesuits to Austria, and the Church's opposition to state regulations in respect to mixed marriages. The author bases his commentary not only on the documents here presented, but on much other archival and monograph material. The study is well documented, although a list of abbreviations is sadly lacking, and there is no bibliography to help clarify shortened titles. The table of contents arranges the documents by year and gives author and title of each document but no summary of content. The index, however, helps out here, for it is unusually complete for a European volume and provides person and subject listings both for the commentary and for the documents.

Emperor Francis visited Rome in 1819 where he laid the basis for better relations with the papacy. He apparently had a sincere desire to bring Austrian laws into harmony with canon law, and the papal nuncio at Vienna reported in 1826 "we could not wish for a better Emperor than we now have" (p. 29). Yet Francis could only make a slight beginning in removing legislation objectionable to the Church. Ensconced in the bureaucracy in Vienna and throughout the empire were officials devoted to the ideals of the Enlightenment and the memory of Maria Theresa and Emperor Joseph. The bishops had all been named by the emperors; they were jealous of the authority they enjoyed under imperial legislation and were far from enthusiastic about any of the demands made by the Roman Curia.

The emperor made a break with Josephinian tradition in 1819 when he permitted the Redemptorist Order to return to Austria. A year later he permitted the Jesuits who were being expelled from Russia to settle in Galicia. This seemed a happy solution of the great shortage of teachers and priests in that area. But the issue was at once raised whether the Jesuits should be permitted to have free communication with the head of their order in Rome. This was a thorny issue, for at this time all monastic orders were under the jurisdiction of the bishops and had no connection with the heads of orders outside of Austria. For that matter even bishops had no freedom to travel to Rome, their communications with Rome were restricted, and encyclicals, bulls, etc., required the assent *(placet)* of the government before they could be issued in Austria. It was clear that a Jesuit would hardly be a Jesuit if cut off from the head of his order, and in 1827 the privilege of free communication with their general in Rome was granted, although in pastoral matters *(Ausübung der Seelsorge)* Jesuits would still be under the jurisdiction of the local bishops. Francis was interested in rehabilitating the monastic orders, and a long document surveys the conditions of monastic institutions in the various parts of the empire (No. 11, pp. 214-250). Measures were taken to further monastic seclusion, to require the wearing of the habit, and common recitation of the divine office *(Chorgebet)*. Although it was generally held that surveillance by the heads of the various orders would strengthen monastic discipline, which was desired, the authority of the heads of these orders and free communication were not restored.

In 1820 the pope placed Georg Rechberger's *Enchiridion juris ecclesiastici austriaci* and Mathias Dannenmayer's *Institutiones historiae ecclesiasticae* on the Index. These were two commonly used textbooks dealing with canon law in the Habsburg lands. Placing these volumes on the Index called forth many memoranda. The emperor wanted to meet the wishes of the curia on this issue and finally ordered that an acceptable conspectus of canon law should be drawn up to replace the volumes. The scholars assigned to the task found it difficult to determine just what was wrong with the two books. Although the use of the volumes was ended by royal order in 1833, no satisfactory replacement ensued. Two inconclusive memoranda were submitted in 1837 which bear the notation by the emperor "submitted to the Minister of Education as belonging to his jurisdiction, May 1, 1848" (p. 73). Matters moved slowly in the old Austria.

The chapter on mixed marriages traces this issue from the first legislation of Maria Theresa to 1850. It is an extraordinarily complex problem, all the more so since practices varied throughout the empire. The question took on new significance with the publicity connected with the

Cologne ecclesiastical dispute of the 1830's in Prussia. Some priests began to refuse to perform mixed marriages which by law they were required to do. The clergy as a whole, however, had in practice gone far beyond papal regulations and dispensations, not only performing such marriages but blessing them as well. Papal authorities made repeated demands to have Austrian legislation brought into harmony with canon law, but no progress was made. In fact, in some ways the Josephinian legislation was even extended, for in 1844 a mixed marriage performed by a Protestant clergyman in Hungary was considered valid. No longer did all mixed marriages have to be performed by a Catholic priest, one of the old cherished prerogatives accorded to the dominant Church.

With the Revolution of 1848, things began to move more swiftly. The two Schwarzenberg brothers—one head of the State, the other Cardinal Primate of Austria—co-operated. A convocation of most of the hierarchy of the Austrian lands met and adopted a seven point program secretly suggested by the papal nuncio. These received the support of the Minister of Church and Education, but the cabinet refused to accept them. Finally Francis Joseph was influenced to intervene; he ordered the formulation of two ordinances which were issued on April 18, 23, 1850 (Nos. 121, 122, pp. 741-742). Maass, who is throughout ultramontane in his sympathies, says that with these proclamations "the church-political system of Josephism with its fundamental subordination of the church under the sovereignty of the state" was ended. Actually the two ordinances fell far short of meeting the program advocated by the hierarchy. They assured the Church freedom in matters concerning clerical discipline and freedom of communication between the bishops and Rome, and went far to restore ecclesiastical control and supervision of religious education. Here the State expressly recognized that no person could give religious instruction in the schools who had not received the permission of the bishop of the diocese where the school was located, and that the bishop could withdraw the permission at any time. Clearly many things in regard to Church-State relations were left for negotiation in a concordat which both State and Church officials desired and which was finally to be concluded in 1855.

It would be a real service if Father Maass, who has covered so admirably the years 1760-1850, would carry on in similar fashion for this next crucial five-year period. Such a commentary-document study would fit in well with Professor Engel-Janosi's admirable two volumes, *Österreich und der Vatikan, 1846-1918.*

ERNEST C. HELMREICH

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The Catholic Church in South Africa from its Origins to the Present Day. By William Eric Brown. Edited by Michael Derrick. (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1960. Pp. xiv, 384. $7.50.)

The author of this book will be familiar to readers of Eyre's *European Civilization, Its Origin and Development,* since he contributed to Volumes II and IV. This fact, plus a long residence in South Africa, made him ideally qualified for the task of writing the difficult history of Catholicism in that country. However, Father Brown's premature death left the manuscript unedited, and this task Michael Derrick of the *Tablet* of London performed with obvious care. Since the work begins with the arrival of the first vicar apostolic, Bishop Raymond Griffith, O.P. (1837-1862), and ends with the appointment of the first apostolic delegate, Archbishop Bernard Jordan Gijlswijk, O.P., in 1922, the editor has added a short prologue and epilogue. Thus we have a continuous account of the South African Church which stretches from 1487, with the arrival of Bartholomew Dias, to 1957, the date of the Catholic bishops' pronouncement on South Africa's notorious racial policy of *apartheid* (1948).

The first three and a half centuries found the Church almost non-existent, thanks to the Dutch settlement of the Cape in 1656. The exclusion policy of the Dutch Reformed Church was rigid and from the first no Catholic settlers were allowed. Since the Netherlands was never more than two-thirds Protestant, the editor raises the interesting conjecture of what would have been the racial situation today in South Africa if the normal Catholic-Calvinist balance of the homeland had been allowed to develop in the colony.

Under the English in 1820, a salary of 200 pounds was paid to an accredited Catholic chaplain to the several hundred Catholic colonists. But troubles were not wanting when chaplains were not. A kind of American trusteeism dominated the Catholic community under the so-called church-warden system. Detached from the projected Vicariate Apostolic of Mauritius, a Vicariate of South Africa was created in 1837, coextensive with the political boundaries of the English colony. Raymond Griffith, a forty-year-old Dublin Dominican, became the first bishop of some 700 souls. He met the local church-warden problem head on. The fact that he was paid a stipend by the government as "chaplain" was not an unmixed blessing since his opponents could easily pretend that he was a public official to whom obedience did not oblige. Bishop Griffith's long tenure is treated in considerable detail.

This history follows the pattern of treating the various episcopal administrations of new jurisdictions as they develop, beginning with the important division in 1847 into eastern and western provinces to correspond to the political realities of the time. Such an arrangement brings

a helpful unity into an otherwise very complicated story. The main Church problems are grouped in each division. These include such issues as school aid (pp. 124-137) and the bishops' masterful position on the policy of *apartheid* ("A sin to Humiliate One's Fellow Man," pp. 338 ff.). This policy, of course, spelt disaster for the highly successful mission work among the Bantu. The story is one of slow but steady growth under great difficulties. Statistics show a Catholic population of 1,200,000 of a total of 16,500,000. Of these Catholics, only 147,000 are of European origin, or seven percent of 3,000,000.

The history is well documented and equipped with many charts, maps, and a kind of ecclesiastical directory. There is a complete index. The work is a model for the many badly needed histories of Catholic communities in the smaller countries of the world, particularly those in Africa and Asia.

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Newman the Theologian. By J. H. Walgrave, O.P. (New York: Sheed & Ward. 1960. Pp. xi, 378. $8.00.)

Newman in his *Prophetical Office,* written at the height of the Oxford Movement, appealed to Anglican theologians "to catalogue, sort, distribute, select, harmonize and complete" their theological heritage. And now this is what Father Walgrave claims must be done with the Newman corpus itself. But to systematize the thought of so unsystematic a thinker is, indeed, an exacting task; and one has to admire the author for his masterful execution of it. Regarding Newman's theory of the development of doctrine as central to his "vast synthetic intuition," he locates it in the context of a complete Newmanian psychology and apologetic. The whole he articulates with scrupulous logic drawing on all of Newman's writings, so that a letter or a sermon sometimes serves best in elucidating an obscure point.

Newman in his thinking, as Father Walgrave makes clear, strove mightily to encompass the whole concrete reality. Thus in his *Essay on Development* he attempted to delineate the totality of the historical experience that influences the development of the Church's doctrine. While in the *Grammar of Assent* he studied the totality of the influences that govern the development of faith in the individual. Believing that there is more than a mere analogy between these two types of religious development, i.e., the individual and the institutional, Father Walgrave feels justified in using the psychology of the *Grammar* to complement the *Essay* in order to throw further light on the way doctrine develops in the Church.

Thus with considerable ingenuity he turns the *Grammar of Assent* into a 'Grammar of Development' as well. This is undoubtedly the most original feature of the book and it may well prove to be its most controversial also. Concerning Newman's theory of development then in its total context he believes that it remains the best approach to the solution of the numerous difficulties raised by recent historical research. He defends Newman's seven criteria of true developments against both the modernists' charge of being too logical and some Catholics' charge of being too biological. This misunderstanding arose, he claims, from a failure to consider Newman's thought as a whole, a fact that points up the necessity of just such a study as he has made. Newman's thought is constantly treated in reference to that of other modern thinkers. Thus his powerfully constructed dialectic of conscience shows certain affinities with the thought of Kant, Kierkegaard, and the existentialists. It marks, he thinks, a real progress in apologetics.

Certain of Newman's shortcomings are pointed out. His tendency toward a practical nominalism is redeemed, we are told, only by his recognition of the mind's ability to perceive the universal validity of moral values. Moreover, Newman was typically English in his failure to understand "the real nature and the absolute character of metaphysics." Nevertheless, Father Walgrave's enthusiasm for Newman is apparent on almost every page and he tells us that the English cardinal holds "a distinct place among the greatest exponents of the traditional Christian philosophy."

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Father Faber. By Ronald Chapman. (London: Burns & Oates. 1961. Pp. 374. 35s.)

Mr. Chapman states in his preface that the London Oratory had turned over to him all the material on Faber contained in its archives. He also says he had access to the archives in the Birmingham Oratory, but from the wording that he was "allowed to examine and to quote" from them it is not entirely clear how much of the material bearing on Faber he actually saw there. He quotes copiously from the fourth edition of John Edward Bowden's *Life and Letters of Frederick William Faber.* This was written, as the author frankly admits, only six years after Faber's death, and the author states with equal frankness that although it presents an accurate picture of Faber it was obviously written as a labor of love in which reticence played a fairly important role. Mr. Chapman does not conceal his dissatisfaction with Wilfrid Ward's *Life of John Henry Newman,* which he calls a "great but misleading biography" and

elsewhere speaks of this *Life* as being quite inexact. Some of his readers may well wonder how these predicates—*great* and *misleading* and *inexact*—can be harmonized. Finally, we are told by the author that there is only one account of Faber as a fellow at Oxford and that account is "poisoned by malice." The derogatory account, he tells us, appeared in the *Saturday Review* of 1863 as a part of Faber's obituary and is unsigned. From these statements and admissions, and from some pages in the biography itself, one gets the impression that Mr. Chapman is a bit on the defensive and that he feels he must be quick to come to the rescue of Father Faber's reputation. At any rate, in evaluating Father Faber these matters should not be entirely overlooked. On the other hand, while they may color some of the author's interpretations, they do not affect the facts themselves which are abundantly attested to throughout the book.

Mr. Chapman gives us in relatively few pages a straightforward account of Father Faber and glosses over nothing, even if he is quick at times to find excuses for some of Father Faber's extravagances. He succeeds in presenting to us a man whose life had many facets and whose brilliance in various fields seems to have shone more brightly in his times than, perhaps, most of us in the twentieth century had come to realize. A child of good breeding, a man of great charm with many friends among important persons, a notable convert to the Catholic Church largely through the influence of John Henry Newman, after some rather successful years as a minister in the Church of England, a poet of sorts, yet of sufficient merit to win the notice of Wordsworth, a composer of innumerable hymns, a pastor of souls, an author of many books and pamphlets on the spiritual life, and last but hardly least a man who brought to London the Oratory of St. Philip Neri and gave existence to the still famous Brompton Oratory in west London. Here we have, indeed, a record of no small achievement attained over a surprisingly short span of forty-nine years. And all this, notwithstanding the fact that for many of those years the disease which was ultimately to be victorious in stilling forever his amazing activities had repeatedly laid him prostrate on a bed of pain.

One cannot help asking oneself why the memory of such a prodigious worker almost faded away completely, while that of men such as Newman and Pusey and Froude and Ward remains relatively fresh. Perhaps Mr. Chapman gives as good an answer as will ever be found. "There remains in Father Faber," he says, "the enigma of contrasting qualities: in his character—of love with harshness, wisdom without lack of balance: in his writing—of sublimity with pathos, intellectuality with sentimental fervour: in his manner—of seriousness with flippancy, penetrating spiritual understanding with disconcerting wordliness." These qualities may have, indeed, been the secret of his charm for many of his contemporaries,

but they could easily become frustrating for those who merely heard about them.

The account the author gives of the differences between the Birmingham and London Oratories might, it seems to this reviewer, have been considerably abbreviated without any real loss to the reader. After all is said, many of the incidents and the letters about him that were exchanged between the two houses, however important they may have seemed to the men engaged in them, seem now in great measure to have been fairly insignificant matters which were constantly popping up in the life and the administration of Father Faber. No doubt Mr. Chapman can justify this lengthy and at times tiresome account on the grounds of historical objectivity, but one wonders whether in this scrupulous search for details he has not to some extent dulled the telling of the story.

Whatever the misunderstandings between Cardinal Newman and Father Faber may have been, and they were many indeed, one can hardly deny that the author has succeeded in proving that they never chilled the love that Faber cherished all through his lifetime for his idol, John Henry Newman. The same can hardly be said now, with the evidence at hand, of the great cardinal. And whatever may have been the failings and shortcomings of Faber's ebullient and effervescent personality, and these too were manifold, his letter written in May of 1856 to Newman in one of his last attempts to bring about a reconciliation should remain ever a touching witness to Faber's considerable stature as a man, a Christian, and a priest. It is full and flows over with ardent protestations of his love and affection for Newman, with humble apologies and pleas for forgiveness, enough surely to melt the heart of any ordinary man. But Newman was no ordinary man. Should this conclusion prove wrong, it may well prove likewise that history based on the silent testimony of the written word suffers from a weakness inherent in its own method.

Mr. Chapman dwells briefly on Faber's unhappy years at Oxford, so unhappy that in a letter written in 1838 he expressed his loathing for the "ethos of a great part of it—its own foulness," and the fact that it had not left himself untainted. Most readers will naturally seek for an explanation of this bitterness and they may not be satisfied with the one given by our author when he says that "the truth was Faber could not get on easily with those who disagreed with him." Profound likes and dislikes have been part of university life since its inception. Nor for that matter have they been restricted to the so-called ivory towers of the universities. Perhaps, a deeper search into the problem of Faber's peculiar response to the stimulation of life at Oxford and a simple description of that life, particularly of its intellectual aspects, might have with profit supplanted some of the over-detailed accounts of the quarrels between the Birmingham and London Oratories.

The author's summation of Faber's writing, prose and verse, is sufficiently short and precise, and would seem to do them full justice. It appeared for a time that Faber had fallen into the limbo of forgotten authors. It may, however, be worth noting that a new and revised edition of *All for Jesus* came out in 1956, a second printing of which followed in 1960. Likewise in 1961 we were given a reprinting of *Growth in Holiness*. This may serve as additional evidence that Mr. Chapman did the world of literature a real service by devoting long hours of research to the writing of the life of Father Faber.

LOUIS A. ARAND

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Österreich und der Vatikan, 1846-1918. Band II. *Das Pontifikat Pius' X und Benedikts XV, 1903-1918.* By Friedrich Engel-Janosi. (Graz—Wien—Köln: Verlag Styria; New York: Austrian Consulate General. 1960. Pp. xxiv, 420. $6.00.)

The concluding volume of this excellent work is like the first one, the summation of many years of intensive research and thought. Although there is some slight evidence of heavy work pressure, Professor Engel-Janosi has again given us a masterpiece of incomparable thoroughness and erudition. Critical scholarship of the highest order goes hand in hand with an untiring effort to understand men and motivating forces in order to assess personal influence and responsibility on the shifting scene of diplomatic activities. The author has again made the best use of the available documents. Very few living European historians can claim to possess a more comprehensive, a more intimate knowledge of this phase of Austrian history; none could have arranged and unfolded the rich material with more perception and better judgment. Engel-Janosi writes with compassion as well as with objectivity; he also writes with a sense of humility. The whole period stretching over fifteen years thus comes alive, the halcyon days of the "belle époque" and the dark years 1914-1918 with the tragic finale, the long-delayed collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The book opens with a detailed and penetrating analysis of the rather confusing situation into which Leo XIII's death had plunged churchmen and diplomats alike. Lack of knowledge, lack of direction and, to some extent, lack of judgment gave the conclave of 1903 its distinctive note. It was the last time that secular considerations were allowed to play an important if purely negative part in the election of a pope. The famous—or infamous—veto presented by Cardinal Puzyna on behalf of Emperor Francis Joseph produced a uniquely unhealthy situation. The vehement antagonism which resulted from the exclusive was to linger on for several years, and Austria paid a heavy price for what may be considered as a

counsel of despair. Yet soon after Pius X began his memorable pontificate, Austria and the Holy See drew more closely together, perhaps, not so much because St. Pius X was an "unpolitical" pope but because of other compelling developments (such as the sudden ascendancy of anti-clericalism in France). Both the Vatican and Austria had too much in common in an age of vanishing supremacies: they had been emerging from a series of retreats and irretrievable losses, the burden of recent history weighed heavily upon them, and now both seemed determined to make a firm stand while groping for new solutions. Cardinal Rampolla's pessimistic evaluation of Austria's chances for survival was apparently not shared by the new Secretary of State, Cardinal Merry del Val. While the centrifugal forces within the Dual Empire seemed to gain steadily, there were also rays of hope and renewed evidence that the cohesive elements (tradition and *Habsburgtreue*) were much alive. Unfortunately, during these crucial years the Danubian Monarchy suffered from a dearth of statesmen who were adequate to their tasks. Aehrenthal's successors lacked skill and authority; what is more, they were not favored by luck. Hovering between resignation and confidence, they felt tempted time and again to demonstrate the vitality of a declining power by a vigorous and enterprising foreign policy.

The intertwining of political matters and ecclesiastical or religious questions was one of the most characteristic features of the old Habsburg Empire where due to the complexity of personal loyalties individual failures could easily assume the fatal proportions of a "Haupt-und Staatsaktion." A whole chapter is devoted to four interesting case histories involving two archbishops and two university professors. The well-documented treatment resurrects these "forgotten stories" and the ensuing crises in the relations between the Ballhausplatz and the Vatican. Other chapters deal with Rampolla's undiminished influence and prestige which kept the aging churchman on the roster of the *papabili*, and Archduke Francis Ferdinand's political views and aspirations, especially in regard to Church-State relations. The many revealing glimpses the author's search and discoveries afford, provide, in their total effect, something like a panoramic view of the empire's last years.

From 1914 on the narrative slows down. Much space is given to Benedict XV's persistent efforts to keep Italy neutral. One of the chief merits of the book lies in the thoroughgoing presentation of the pope's memorable peace action. While following Lama rather closely, Engel-Janosi is inclined to attribute a much larger share in the failure of the papal peace move to Wilson's reluctance to co-operate along the lines laid down by Benedict XV. The recent contribution by Deuerlein (1955) reduces the responsibility of Chancellor Michaelis, who figured as the arch-villain

in the tragedy, by shifting most of the blame on Foreign Secretary Richard von Kühlmann. But much of the story still remains unknown.

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Mission et Unité. Les exigences de la communion. By M.-J. Le Guillou, O.P. Two Volumes. (Paris: Editions du Cerf. 1960. Pp. 287; 334.)

The latest addition to the famous series *Unam Sanctam* maintains the high standard of the previous volumes. The first two parts, which form Volume I, study the notion of communion in Protestantism and in Orthodoxy, especially from the point of view of the relationships between 'communion,' 'mission,' and 'unity.' Father Le Guillou's thesis is that the unity of the Church is essentially a missionary unity: the Church is one in order to be a proper witness to the oneness of God's plan of salvation. His first purpose, accordingly, is to discover how this basic insight into the requirements of Christian communion has been manifested in the main separated churches. Precisely, the present moment in the history of modern Protestantism marks the crowning point of missionary concerns which grew in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries; incidentally, amalgamation of the World Council and the International Missionary Council is expected at the meeting of the World Council of Churches in New Delhi (December, 1961). The Christian unity that the World Council seeks appears more and more as a missionary unity, the unity of the pilgrim people of God.

The second volume studies the same problem in the Catholic Church. A first part, "Church and Unity," covers the familiar ground of the division of Christendom and the subsequent evolution of the 'dialogue' among separated Christian bodies, from the older controversies to the current ecumenical approach. This posits the problem of the possible relations between the Catholic Church, conscious of its missionary unity, and the World Council of Churches, which more and more embodies the missionary spirit of modern Protestantism. Father Le Guillou does not provide a definite answer. Yet his last part, "Mission and Communion," invites Catholic theologians to work toward a solution by developing the 'communional' aspects of ecclesiology. A Church which is essentially missionary, and which is one in and for its missionary function, cannot but rejoice at the growth of the Protestant missionary movement, for these show that the Protestant concern for unity is not academic and abstract but concrete and profoundly sincere.

These two volumes will become important in the formation of a satisfactory ecclesiology. The theme on which they end, 'Renovation,' is also

the theme of the Second Council of the Vatican. A reading of Father Le Guillou's work is, therefore, to be recommended to those who wish to prepare themselves for the renovation that Pope John XXIII envisions.

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AMERICAN CHURCH

We Came North. Centennial History of the Sisters of Charity of Leavenworth. By Sister Julia Gilmore, S.C.L. (St. Meinrad, Indiana: The Abbey Press. 1961. Pp. ix, 538. $4.50.)

Sister Julia Gilmore here makes a welcome contribution to American Catholic history and that of the West, detailing the first hundred years of her order's origins, growth, and development. She brings to her study the credentials of historical scholarship. She did a biography of the foundress of her order, Mother Xavier Ross, *Come North* (New York, 1951). The evidence indicates complete access to the order's archival materials and extensive use of a wealth of additional sources.

The early portion of the book is particularly valuable in evidencing the great difficulties entailed in the establishment of religious orders under diocesan auspices. Mother Xavier Ross, a convert and native of Cincinnati, first joined the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth (Kentucky). In 1842 this order opened an establishment at Nashville, Tennessee, at the request of Richard P. Miles, O.P., bishop of that diocese. The bishop eventually urged the foundation of an independent, diocesan community with headquarters at Nashville under the leadership of Mother Xavier. This occurred in 1851, but by 1857 financial and other difficulties darkened the future of this group. Mother Xavier then decided to go to a provincial council at St. Louis, Missouri, and there she met Bishop John B. Miège, S.J., Vicar-Apostolic of the Indian Territory. He was anxious to have a religious community of women locate in his diocesan headquarters at Leavenworth, Kansas, and urged the sisters to "Come North as soon as possible" (p. 5). They did so in 1858, and with that dramatic development began the history of a new community, the Institute of the Sisters of Charity of Leavenworth. The new order looked upon the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth as its direct ancestor.

They grew and prospered despite the difficulty of beginning anew on the raw edge of the frontier. In 1869 members of the order moved the great distance to Montana at the request of the Jesuits of that territory. Thereafter its expansion in the West was rapid. Ultimately a college, grade and high schools, hospitals, orphanages, and homes for the

aged marked its work in following the rule of St. Vincent de Paul. The order has been peculiarly mid-western and western in location. By 1958 it counted various establishments in Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, and California. In 1915 papal approval came with Diomede Cardinal Falconio as first Protector. Able and zealous superiors have directed the Institute: Mothers Xavier Ross, Josephine Cantwell, Mary Olive Meade, Mary Berchmans Cannon, Mary Francesca O'Shea, and the present Mother Mary Ancilla Spoor, to mention the more outstanding.

Sister Julia's account is well written, attractive, and enlivened with a wealth of anecdote and humor. The only defect, a perplexing one for the author of such a history, is that of presentation. Her order devotes itself to a number of activities, and the work frequently involves some confusion in treating all these within a strict chronological framework. A topical approach might have been more attractive. The author's biography is more appealing in this connection, but it enjoyed the advantage of a simpler theme. This work should be studied by all historians of the Church in the West, an area in which much remains to be done. Revisionists of Frederick Jackson Turner's "Frontier Thesis" such as Ray Allen Billington in *The Far Western Frontier* (New York, 1956) might profit from a study of this order's work in that "checkerboard of differing environments" (p. xviii) constituting the West.

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The American College of Louvain (1857-1898). By John D. Sauter. (Louvain: Publications Universitaires de Louvain. 1959. Pp. xii, 289. Fr. 250.)

This work reminds one of a professor's room, scholarly but untidy. First, though, let us kindle the cozy fire that warms both Louvaniste and Roman. We have already been given a centenary history of *The American College in Rome* by Robert F. McNamara (Rochester, 1956, not 1957 *juxta* Sauter), to which title the author dared to append the dates 1855-1955, in spite of the fact that Louvain's College was two years old when Rome's was founded in 1859. Father McNamara inflated further by giving us a book of 858 pages costing $15. But the book did give us a hundred years of history; Sauter's only fifty. Sauter's lean volume covers the same period that the 1909 work of Van der Heyden did. What we want still is a second volume on the De Becker dynasty to match Rector De Neve's.

Since the Belgian government supplied funds for the publication of this book, it would be indelicate not to note its co-sponsorship with the University in this birthday salute. Father Sauter, a priest of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, has tapped the sources well. He hews to the line even when tempted by the prospect, e.g., of developing the conditioning impact that Father De Smet's books must have had on the mission-minded young of the 1840's and 1850's, so well illustrated, as they were, and translated by his Jesuit brothers. The author does not flinch before rectoral shortcomings, episcopal lukewarmness and Propaganda umbrage. Anecdotes, songs, lists, all are there. A guide to the archives is appended and a plan of the college properties given with dates of acquisition (p. 178). Of general interest are the following. In the Middle Ages monasteries afield owned *refuges* in walled cities. The Cistercians of Aulne in Hainaut made their *refuge* in Louvain a college of their students in 1629. When Father Kindekens bought this same property for the American College the two buildings on it were a butchershop and a "cabaret" (better: *estaminet*) (pp. 54-55). The steadiest financial support came from Munich and Vienna (pp. 70, 96), and Germany led in vocations, particularly Prussia (p. 186).

The work is grievously marred by poor English, punctuation, spelling and proofreading. Pagination in the table of contents has two errors. Found are "doing as good as," "in their respective parish," "how was great," "greater majority," "In course of"; also Whalon, Mc., Debecker, Bauvais, Van Couver, Knotville, Yersey, Friburg, Greenbay, Tirol, and Arestes Brownson; common words fare worse, e.g., "endeavered" and "laughther" (both on p. 118), "which caths" (p. 248) must be "with lists"; a proper noun is omitted (p. 21n); and for "preceeding" (*sic*) read "succeeding" (p. 245). Nonetheless one can see generations of students seeking out copies at Louvain's beloved book auctions and what else could take its place as the grand prize of every college tombola?

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Bristol, Rhode Island

Focus on Infinity: A Life of Phillips Brooks. By Raymond W. Albright. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1961. Pp. xiv, 464. $4.95.)

Henry Steele Commager has written that "after Phillips Brooks no Protestant churchman ever spoke with authority. . . ." Perhaps this is too lavish a statement, but certainly within his time Phillips Brooks was one of the leading figures and a great influence both within and without the Protestant Episcopal Church. Dr. Albright, William Reed Huntington professor of church history in the Episcopal Theological School in Cam-

bridge, undertook the new biography to commemorate the 125th anniversary of Brooks' birth in 1835. In it he traces the details of Brooks' life with a generous sampling of his ideas garnered from his sermons and other writings. After his ordination in 1859 Brooks first served as rector of two churches in Philadelphia. He is most widely known, however, for the many years he served as rector of Trinity Church, Boston. He was consecrated Bishop of Massachusetts in 1891, less than eighteen months before his death.

In addition to his parochial duties, Brooks found time to travel extensively throughout the world, to participate in the affairs of both Boston and Harvard University (where he was one of the overseers), and to join in religious observances and meetings throughout the country. He preached extensively and was most meticulous in the preparation of his sermons. Although he was absent from the pulpit of Trinity for many long periods, Brooks maintained close contacts with the parishioners and problems of the parish, according to the author. He was widely sought after by individuals with personal problems, and in his lifetime he was in the company of many of the world's leaders. His sermons were often reprinted and according to his correspondents they offered much spiritual consolation. Brooks' religious views were those of the low or broad churchman. He was less insistent on the form of belief than its content, on the personal religious experience rather than the dogmatic, intellectual acceptance of the truths of faith. His views can be seen in many ministers today with a greater stress on the practical and the personal, than on the consistent and disciplined adherence to religious tenets and practice.

This completely laudatory account of Brooks' life is one which can be found in the more emotional and less critical biographies of saints. Brooks' life, as depicted by Dr. Albright, leaves the reader with the impression that it was one of near perfection punctuated by no visible faults, full of good works (including rescuing an occasional person from Rome), hindered by an occasional misguided dissenter, and exuding the spiritual solace of a pre-Peale era. What Dr. Albright has not done is to portray a forceful individual whose influence and personality were as great as the author would have you believe. What is lacking is not an account of the man, but the man himself. The book is well documented, and there is an extensive bibliography and index.

MAURICE ADELMAN, JR.

Cincinnati, Ohio

Notre Dame's John Zahm. By Ralph E. Weber. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 1961. Pp. xii, 214. $5.00.)

Few topics have proved more interesting to Catholic historians than the Americanism controversy of the 1890's. Its many ramifications,

colorful participants, and effects on the status of Catholicism have all attracted the scholar, producing a considerable and diverse bibliography well represented by John Tracy Ellis' *Life of James Cardinal Gibbons* and Thomas T. McAvoy's *Great Crisis in American Catholic History*. Nevertheless, the subject remains controversial and imperfectly defined, and there is need for the kind of biography represented by the present work. The name of Father Zahm appears in almost every study of Americanism. If his reputation and influence were less than those of a Cardinal Gibbons or Archbishop Ireland, he was yet their co-worker. Often it was men like O'Connell, Keane, or Zahm who by their vigorous, or brash, initiative created the crises which engaged the chief protagonists, Archbishops Ireland and Corrigan. It was certainly Zahm who precipitated the struggle over Darwinism with his book, *Evolution and Dogma*, the forced withdrawal of which heralded the encyclical *Testem benevolentiae*. He must also be credited with trail-blazing efforts in Catholic higher education, in women's rights, and in exploration.

Father Zahm was congenitally as well as intellectually progressive, a perfect embodiment of the liberal spirit that was always eager for change and impatient of delay. This spirit Dr. Weber, assistant professor of history in Marquette University, evokes by a careful account of Zahm's many-faceted career. The story is told with commendable clarity, and the research, rendered difficult by Father Zahm's destruction of much of his correspondence, is admirably performed. The author's discussion of Zahm's attempt to make Notre Dame a true university and community of scholars is notably revealing, and he offers the first full description of the internal struggles between brothers and priests which plagued the Congregation of Holy Cross. These matters, together with Zahm's expedition to South America with Theodore Roosevelt, occupy the last and better half of the book. Satisfactory, but less adequate, is Weber's treatment of the evolution controversy, probably the most important phase of Zahm's life. The pertinent facts are presented: Zahm's lectures in the Catholic Summer School, the reception accorded *Evolution and Dogma*, the efforts of the Corrigan-Brandi faction to suppress the book and of Zahm's friends to prevent publication of the decree against him by the Congregation of the Index. What is lacking is sufficient commentary and background. The behavior of Father Zahm during these events, as well as the spirit which impelled him, suggests significant lines of thought about the nature of Americanism, but Weber does not pursue them. Similarly, he does not in depth relate Zahm's desire to make evolution theologically respectable to the larger Americanist movement which gives it meaning. The author's brief, factual technique, which suffices when dealing with the more parochial aspects of Zahm's work, seems

here to result in lost opportunities for interpretation. A larger approach at this point would have improved an already excellent contribution to our knowledge of Notre Dame's famed priest and his impact on American Catholicism.

JOHN L. MORRISON

Mount Saint Mary's College
Emmitsburg

American Catholicism and the Intellectual Ideal. Edited by Francis L. Christ and Gerard E. Sherry. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc. 1960. Pp. xxv, 318. $2.35.)

This book is in its title and in its contents an offshoot of Monsignor Ellis' essay of 1955. It is a collection of texts, ranging chronologically from the middle of the last century to 1959, and centering on the expressed attitude of American Catholics toward higher education and the intellectual life. Had not Monsignor Ellis drawn attention to the state of Catholic higher learning, there is little doubt that an anthology such as this would not have been called for; but in its context he can be seen simply as the contemporary spokesman of a well grounded tradition of constructive criticism. I am particularly pleased to see space given to Bishop Spalding, Brother Azarias, and his biographer, Talbot Smith—these were pioneer humanists who are still worthy of our reverence. The book is well-arranged, save for an irrelevant extract from the *Summa*, which serves presumably as a testimonial to editorial orthodoxy. In fact, neither the *De Magistro* nor the *Summa* contains much that is directly pertinent to this particular question: the better text would have been *Contra Gentiles* II, 3, or the highly pragmatic tract on *The Education of Princes*. The book concludes with a condensation of Monsignor Ellis' St. Louis address of May, 1955, and some excellently chosen pronouncements of Pius XII.

Though there are statements from Monsignor Joseph Fenton, the late Father Robert Slavin, O.P., Father Robert I. Gannon, S.J., and Professor Bouscaren, almost all of the extracts favor Ellis' stand. However, I am inclined to believe this absence of the opposition view indicates not so much bias on the part of the editors as inarticulateness on the part of Monsignor Ellis' critics—and this in its own way confirms his appraisal. But one notes, with regret, a failure to maintain in this debate that sense of dialogue, about which so much is being written, and which we seem so willing to extend toward non-Catholics. I am thinking of Father Gustave Weigel's rather tendentious psychological plumbing of the resentment allegedly felt by some products of seminary education (p. 220), and of Monsignor Fenton's reference to the theologian "who writes

primarily with a view of being accepted and praised by non-Catholic intellectuals . . ." (p. 210). Neither judgment is capable of being verified and neither goes even half-way toward determining what the opposition believes.

I regret also that the book concerns itself exclusively with education, and ignores the role of the Catholic publisher and of the Catholic press. The function of the diocesan paper ought to enter into any discussion on our 'intellectual ideal': is the diocesan press an open forum for any qualified Catholic in a given diocese, or is it merely the instrument of its own editorial board? I have in mind a recent attack on the work of Monsignor George G. Higgins in a widely circulated diocesan paper which was answered by four local educators in a brief letter that the editor in question refused to print. I am thinking also of a book on American Catholic education which was not reviewed in either of our two major weeklies, and which received long and laudatory reviews in the *Catholic Herald* and the *Tablet* of London.

Perhaps, the editors of this excellent volume would make us further their debtors by organizing a similar collection on the actual state and the ideal role of the Catholic press.

JUSTUS GEORGE LAWLER

St. Xavier College
Chicago

GENERAL

The Intent of Toynbee's History. Edited by Edward T. Gargan. (Chicago: Loyola University Press. 1961. Pp. viii, 224. $5.00.)

In the introduction Professor Gargan summarizes the reception given to Toynbee's *Study* by the academic community in England and the United States from the appearance of the first volume in 1934, thus providing the setting of the present volume, which is based on papers read at Loyola University of Chicago in 1955.

William H. McNeill, discussing some basic assumptions of Toynbee's work, expresses the view that even if the greatest part of the text should prove vulnerable on the ground of factual inaccuracy, Toynbee's *Study* will stand in the judgment of posterity as a notable monument in the intellectual history of our century because of the challenge it presents to the community of academic and professional historians. This challenge is two-fold. First, Toynbee has overridden the conventional boundaries between specialisms in the field of history, and in doing so has found rhythms and patterns undetectable in any less panoramic view. Second, Toynbee has made a breakthrough of the traditional limits of history not only horizontally but also vertically, i.e., he has felt free to connect his

historical studies with ultimate philosophical and theological questions. In doing this, McNeill points out, Toynbee has returned to the traditional Judaic-Christian interpretation of history as a progress, not in the secularistic sense of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but in the providential sense of the working out of a divine plan and the gradual revelation of the divine purpose.

Friedrich Engel-Janosi indicates similarities between Toynbee's work and previous essays in universal history from Herodotus to Spengler. David M. Robinson, G. E. von Grunebaum, Hans Kohn, and Matthew A. Fitzsimons expose the vulnerable places in Toynbee's *Study*, each from the viewpoint of his own historical specialty, while at the same time (with the exception of von Grunebaum) acknowledging the great merits of Toynbee's work.

Concerning the historical validity of Toynbee's approach to universal churches Edward Rochie Hardy has some serious reservations. The generalization that creativity in the religious area is likely to accompany the decay of civilizations in their final phase of a universal state is a way of defending religion and the churches against the accusation that they are causes of cultural decay, but Hardy thinks it an unwarranted extension of the story of the Greco-Roman world to other areas of world history. Hardy also thinks that Toynbee is arbitrary in restricting the number of extant higher religions to four—Christianity, Islam, Mahayana Buddhism, and Hinduism, and thus excluding post-biblical Judaism and Hinayana and Tibetan Buddhism.

Eric Voegelin traces the development of Toynbee's recognition (after six volumes to the *Study*) that civilizations are as inadequate as national states to supply intelligible units of historical study, that the true key to the meaning of history is the progress of religion, and that the historical significance of the development of civilizations lies in their role as ministering to the progress of religion and the values of the spirit. Voegelin also points out grave deficiencies in Toynbee's *Study* considered as a search for the truth. Voegelin writes:

> A search for truth is supposed to reach its goal, that is, a view of reality existentially informed by the *philia* of the *sophon* in the Platonic sense, or by the *intentio animi* toward God in the Augustinian sense. Toynbee does not reach this goal of the love of God, but stops short at a sensitive spiritualist's and an historical connoisseur's sympathy with religions.

Voegelin agrees with "Mr. Martin Wight" who speaks in Toynbee's seventh volume and charges Toynbee

> with the hubris of having transformed, in his treatment of the universal churches, the divine mystery of history into the manageable topic of a humane study,

so manageable indeed that the author can tender advice to the "four living universal religions" on what to do in order to get some peace on earth.

Voegelin praises Toynbee for not having taken the way of Spengler toward materialism and determinism. Oscar Halecki, appraising Part XII of Toynbee's *Study* on "The prospects of Western civilization," echoes this praise and also congratulates Toynbee on recognizing (1) that the real issue between communism and a traditional western way of life is not the economic issue but a religious one, and (2) that the ideal of personal liberty for which western civilization is fighting today against the communist world can only be defended and preserved through a religious reconsecration of our western secularized liberal society. But Halecki deplores Toynbee's failure to understand that such reconsecration can only be within the orthodox Christian religious tradition. Halecki declares:

> Any religious syncretism, any borrowing from other higher religions, far from "fortifying" our Christian heritage would dilute it and lead to a disintegration of our civilization from within, depriving it of one at least of its basic elements, the most important.

In a brief preface Professor Toynbee expresses his gratitude to his critics and states that he has made use of the points treated in this book in preparing his volume of *Reconsiderations*. But he gives no indication (nor is there any in the *Reconsiderations*) of any repudiation of his religious syncretism or of any deeper appreciation of the unique and transcendent character of Christian orthodoxy. One thinks of Maritain's observation that without such appreciation no true philosophy of history is possible.

OWEN BENNETT

St. Anthony-on-Hudson
Rensselaer, New York

The Crisis of Western Education. By Christopher Dawson. (New York: Sheed and Ward, Inc. 1961. Pp. vi, 246. $3.95.)

Thirty-three years ago, Christopher Dawson wrote in *Progress and Religion:* "The return to the historic Christian tradition would restore to our civilization the moral force that it requires in order to dominate external circumstances and to avoid the dangers that are inherent in the present situation." The "present situation" of 1938 has deteriorated, to put it mildly. World War II brought in its wake the quantitative successes of Communism and the failure of the West to meet, or even state articulately, its own dilemma. As I write this review, another technological splendor (the Russian man-in-orbit, communicating with the globe while he eats his lunch in weightlessness) has underlined Dawson's grim in-

dictment: "the moral order and the technological order have become out of gear with each other" (p. 194).

His latest book, in a long distinguished series on man and history, is at once a recapitulation, a diagnosis, and a program. Part I traces liberal education from Greece to the present. In a very perceptive section on American education, the author speaking of our unique "highly educated mass society" concludes optimistically: "even if the general quality of the education is not high, it is capable of progressive improvement and provides new standards of intellectual value and opportunities for self-criticism" (p. 87).

In Part III, the diagnosis, Professor Dawson probes the religious vacuum of the West. Seldom has our contemporary illness been more clearly exposed: "On the one hand, man is sheltered from the direct impact of reality, while on the other he is subjected to a growing pressure which makes for social conformity" (p. 173). How easily we recognize the "spiritually neutral and passive" traits of our society in which "every human need can be met by filling in the appropriate form." It is his thesis that Christian culture must confront the technology of the latter-day "barbarians" of the West who ignore the primacy of the spirit, and those of the Communist states who deny it.

The practical program for the Catholic college is spelled out in Part II. It calls for a reorientation of higher studies with Christian culture as the integrating factor. Christian culture is not theology or faith. It is "the embodiment of Christianity in social institutions and patterns of life and behavior" (p. 150). Quite detailed plans are considered. In the flood-tide of schemes for reorganizing Catholic college curricula, Professor Dawson's has two decided assets: his core concepts are urgently needed, and in at least one college (St. Mary's, Notre Dame) they are heartily welcomed by the best students. Although the book has a coherent, forward motion, there is some backing and filling in the later chapters. This is probably due to the awkward placement of material previously published. Parts II and III could have been transposed with good effect.

The Crisis of Western Education answers specifically and hopefully a question that Dawson raised in 1954 in *Medieval Essays:* "If the semi-barbarous society of feudal Europe could create such a remarkable cultural unity under the influence of Christian ideas, what might the modern world achieve. . .?" As he gives his answer in his latest volume, the author pin-points the responsibility of the Catholic college. Because of its definite and conscious commitment to Christian culture, it is in a "particularly favorable position" to lead the way.

✠ PAUL J. HALLINAN
Bishop of Charleston

NEAR EAST AND BYZANTIUM

The Bible and the Ancient Near East. Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright. Edited by G. Ernest Wright. (New York: Doubleday & Company. 1961. Pp. 409. $7.50.)

The famous professor emeritus from the Johns Hopkins University has here received a fitting tribute from his former students (nine of the contributors) and his professional associates (five). A thoughtful and valuable appendix contains a revised essay of the *magister* himself on the role of the Canaanites in the history of civilization; and the 1911-1958 bibliography of Professor Albright by N. Lapp further enhances the volume. The theme of most of the articles is one favored so frequently and brilliantly by Albright himself: a summary of the results of scholarly research in a given field over the last several decades. Thus J. Bright writes on the Old Testament; G. Mendenhall, biblical history; W. Moran, S.J., the Hebrew language; the editor, Palestinian archeology; G. van Beek, South Arabian history; S. Kramer and T. Jacobsen, Sumerian literature and religion; T. Lambdin and J. Wilson, Egyptian language and culture; A. Goetze, Anatolian studies. In addition, H. Orlinsky writes on Old Testament textual criticism, D. Freedman and E. Campbell on ancient Near Eastern chronology, and F. Cross presents a new study of Jewish scripts in the light of the Dead Sea Scroll material, which goes beyond his important 1955 *JBL* article. Most of the essays were written in 1957 and subjected to later revision in 1958 or 1959. The tremendous range of these topics testify to the unparalleled expanse of Albright's knowledge and interests, and the writers generously acknowledge the many important contributions made by him.

Historians of the ancient Near East will find this an extremely valuable reference work. The survey style (particularly well done for Egypt) will insure the interest of the general reader who desires to know the *status quaestionis*. The reviewer would single out the highly technical studies of Moran and Cross, and the paper by Mendenhall, as being the most original. Mendenhall has, perhaps, made the most perceptive observation about Albright. He notes the various factors behind the disintegration of the Wellhausen synthesis of Old Testament literature and states, "the greatness of W. F. Albright's work might be best summed up by observing that he has been the most sensitive to all three factors, and has, during the period in question [since World War I] led the way in producing both new historical facts and new interpretations of the total course of Israelite history" (p. 33). The rest of the essays show that Albright's sensitivity and leadership have been evidenced in almost every other branch of ancient Near Eastern studies.

ROLAND E. MURPHY

The Catholic University of America

A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest. By Glanville Downey. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1961. Pp. xvii, 752; 21 plates. $15.00.)

Downey's study covers the first millennium of Antioch's history, from its foundation in 300 B. C. by Seleucus I to its capture by the Arabs in 637 A. D. It remained one of the greatest cities of the ancient world throughout this whole period until its decline began with a series of disasters in the first half of the sixth century, the fire of 525, the earthquakes of 526 and 528, capped by the Persians' sack of the town in 540. The author warns us in the preface that his work "is not intended to be a compendium of everything that is known about Antioch," but his purpose "has been to assemble the essential information concerning the history of the city as a whole" (p. ix). It seems to me to be, from this point of view, a complete success; there is scarcely an event or personality connected with Antioch on which the reader will not find some information. Downey has familiarized himself with the sources and the literature of his subject and has presented us with an able, readable, and handy digest of them; in addition he has made some not inconsiderable contributions of his own.

Downey was a member of the staff for the excavation of Antioch and its vicinity during the first season of work in 1932, and his interest in archaeology is obvious throughout his book; he gives a good deal of attention to the topography and the buildings erected at various periods in Antioch's history. Another preoccupation of the author is chronology, which he discusses frequently in the footnotes. Art and literature do not fall within the scope of the work at all save insofar as they are sources for political, social, or economic history.

Antioch is one of the most famous and important cities in the development of Christianity, and Downey by no means neglects this aspect. He gives a very good summary of the history of the Church in Antioch, though here and there one might differ with his views; thus, he seems to imply that St. Paul's teaching on the role of faith in salvation was an addition to the doctrine of Christ, and he also espouses the view that there was no ecclesiastical organization in Antioch for a considerable time after Christianity first found its way there.

To sum up, Downey's book is an accurate, interesting, comprehensive, and valuable contribution.

MARTIN J. HIGGINS

The Catholic University of America

The Reign of Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessalonica, 1382-1387 [Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 159]. By George T. Dennis, S.J. (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum. 1960. Pp. xii, 179. Lire 1,200; $2.00.)

About a third of this study is devoted to a survey of recent research in the late Byzantine field and to the foreign policy of the years 1354-1382 during which the rivalry of Venice and Genoa figured so prominently. Father Dennis then discusses fourteenth-century Thessalonica, with special reference to the revolt of 1342-1349. Finally, Manuel II's rule in Thessalonica (1382-1387) is presented under various headings—Manuel's *Discourse* to the Thessalonians, his civil administration, and his literary activity during the city's siege by the Turks (1383-1387). The foreign relations of Manuel during this period are analyzed separately—the submission to him of Epirus and Thessaly, his alliance with his brother Theodore of the Morea and Nerio Acciajuoli of Corinth against the Ottomans and the Navarrese, his uneasy relations with Constantinople and his father John V, and his attempt to come to an understanding with Pope Urban VI. Then came the final realization that he could not hold out in Thessalonica against the Turks, and he sailed to Lesbos, made his peace with Murad, and was reconciled in 1389 to his father, who from the outset had strongly opposed his son's resistance to the Turks.

Occasionally the story might have been filled out, e.g., we are not told what lies behind the brief "John V wished to sell it" (Tenedos) (p. 27). John had, in fact, already drawn money on it in advance. Or when John V, with Manuel and Theodore, was imprisoned by Andronicus in 1376 in the Anemas tower (p. 29); details such as the fact that Andronicus supplied Manuel with books to read would add to our picture of the episode. Many readers will be grateful for the translations, mainly from Cydones' letters, even though they may on occasion feel that something has eluded the author. Father Dennis is somewhat critical of Manuel as a letter-writer (pp. 95 ff); yet how vivid a picture these letters give of Manuel's own outlook as, e.g., the letter to Cabasilas, written from Lesbos, recalling the attitude of the Thessalonians and his own fight against despondency. In place of the brief "he (Manuel) alludes to the events of 1382-1387" (p. 157), the whole of this might have been translated, particularly as neither the edition cited, Μακεδονικά 4 (1956) nor Paris, Bibl. Nat. Cod. Graec. 3041, fol. 60v, from which it is known to the reviewer, are easy to come by.

Father Dennis' study makes no claim to do more than present an interim report of a single episode, and in general he has made excellent use of the valuable pioneer work of Father Loenertz, particularly the second volume of Cydones' letters of which he evidently had a pre-view.

He is to be congratulated on his balanced and well-documented contribution toward the unravelling of an extremely tangled, and as yet only partially explored, period of Byzantine history. Finally, two bibliographical points:—to the *Χρονικὸν περὶ τῶν Τούρκων . . .*, edited by G. Zoras (Athens, 1958) should now be added E. A. Zachariadou, *Τὸ χρονικὸ . . . καὶ τὸ ἰταλικὸ τοῦ πρότυπο* (*Ἑλληνικά*, *Παράρτημα* 14, Thessalonica, 1960); and there is a brief account of Manuel's activities in Thessalonica in the unpublished dissertation of J. Chrysostomides, "Manual II Palaeologus, Emperor of Byzantium during the Years 1373-1425 with Special Reference to his Relations with Ottoman Turks" (Oxford, 1959).

JOAN M. HUSSEY

University of London

MEDIAEVAL

Political Thought in Medieval Times. By John B. Morrall. (London: Hutchinson University Library. 1960. Pp. 154. 12s. 6d.)

Professor Morrall of University College, Dublin, has written a book of high competence in a small number of pages. It seeks with success to combine a direct and informed judgment of mediaeval writers with an evaluation of the scholarly work of recent times. Both teachers and students in the field of mediaeval theory should read this book along with primary materials and other important scholarly works. Though so short a book can hardly compete with McIlwain, the Carlyle's, Otto von Gierke, Arquillière, Lagarde, Gilson, d'Entreves, or Gerwirth, Morrall's judgments are fresh and vigorous in their understanding. One is not inclined to put him aside because of the brevity of the volume. Unhappily, he seems not to know the work of Father John Courtney Murray on John of Paris and the newer orientations of modern Catholic political theory.

According to the author, "The chronological limits of this book are therefore provided by the fall of the Graeco-Roman civilization in the west on the one hand and by the Reformation on the other. The central theme of the book will, it is hoped, emerge as the rise, development and collapse of the ideal of the Christian Commonwealth and its replacement by a return to a more purely political conception of the state" (p. 11). The author illuminates the relation of the Church, the empire, and especially the Teutonic impact on western Europe, the emergence of the conflict between the *sacerdotium* and the *regnum*, the great discoveries of political ideas in the twelfth century (i.e., the creative pre-Aristotelian period), the birth of the state, the designs of world monarchy

both papal and imperial (including surprisingly imaginative treatments of St. Thomas and Dante), the secular state in the ambient of Marsilius, and, finally, the conclusion of the mediaeval period as a time of ambiguity.

The time is long since past when an attack on the mediaeval Church can serve as an attack on modern Catholicism. Today the Catholic lives in a world more like the age of the martyrs than mediaeval times. In result, the analysis of the Middle Ages has lost most of its ideological flavor, and a time of scholarly work has come to the study of a great and creative period. In this light one appreciates the effort of Morrall to see mediaeval writing as questions of interpretation in exceedingly complex circumstances. Morrall clearly leans, where possible, to moderate interpretations which suggest as well the continuity of the Middle Ages with what went before and what came after.

FRANCIS G. WILSON

University of Illinois

The Gothic: Literary Sources and Interpretations through Eight Centuries. By Paul Frankl. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1960. Pp. x, 816 [32 plates]. $17.50.)

This fat volume contains much more than the number of pages, large as that is, would imply, for the presentation is compact, and a great deal of useful material, chiefly bibliographical, is relegated to the footnotes, of which there are about 1,500. Frankl reports in the foreword that "he began the work nineteen years ago." In face of all the other things he has done in the meanwhile, this book represents, if looked at only from a mere quantitative point of view, a remarkable achievement. Taken as a kind of *bibliographie raisonnée* within its restricted field, it deserves a place on the bookshelf alongside Schlosser's *Kunstliteratur*. Yet the book is much more than an endeavor to assemble and clarify the significant writings on the Gothic; it is a successful attempt to make them meaningful, and to interpret the Gothic, as well as the available literary sources bearing on the Gothic.

The chief emphasis of the book is on the church interior, and even there it is especially on the vaulting, more particularly still, on the quadripartite vault. This sharp focussing has led to the omission, not merely the rejection, of some things of importance that have been written about the Gothic exterior. Given the great wealth of the book's cargo, however, to ask for yet more would be highly ungracious. Also it would be captious to mention the relatively insignificant (and few for a book of this dimension) inconsistencies, anacoluthons, errors typographical or otherwise, etc.

Even more admirable than the magnitude of Frankl's accomplishment is the good and generally receptive spirit with which he deals with his "cloud of witnesses," whom he translates in his text but allows to speak in their own original words in the footnotes and in the three dozen or so appendices. The disposition of the vast material he has collected is logical, essentially chronological; his literary sources are so marshalled under appropriate headings that the table of contents alone gives an intelligible survey of what the book contains and makes it easy to find one's way about. The indexing is good, and the special index of "persons" makes it possible to pursue without frustration the various references to any one writer.

It is to be expected that each mediaevalist may have his points of disagreement with Frankl; here is not the place to discuss points of this sort. Yet some of Frankl's statements will come as unexpected to a wider circle of readers, e.g., the sentence about the "Throne of Chosroes" beginning at the bottom of page 189: "The throne can therefore date from the time of the *Apocalypse,* written at the end of the second, or in the third century after Christ"; and Frankl then goes on to give a quotation (Rev. 4: 2-6). This is not representative of the book, however.

On the whole Frankl's book is cautious, clear, and candid. Its candor is most winning. Frankl is at pains to indicate where his work has been incomplete, where his knowledge is defective, and where his earlier opinions have later been subject to modification. He shows a great, perhaps sometimes too great, readiness to accept new theses, and he gives generous credit for the suggestions of others. This makes the reader wish to collaborate with him. For instance, one is tempted to contribute to what he has to say about the mutability of recent Russian architecture (pp. 691 f.) the further information that the largest buildings recently built in Moscow, such as the university, have taken quite another turn, and are strikingly reminiscent of that cynosure of American architecture a half century ago, the Woolworth Building on lower Broadway.

It would be a gross oversight, even in so brief a notice, not to mention the extraordinary merit of the translation of Frankl's German manuscript by Mrs. Priscilla Silz. Other scholars with German linguistic background and faced with the need of crossing the dizzy bridge from German to English would do well not to rely on the vain courage of their homebrew, but rather to entrust themselves completely to such professional guidance.

JOHN SHAPLEY

University of Baghdad

Marco Polo's Asia: An Introduction to His "Description of the World" Called "Il Milione." By Leonardo Olschki. Translated by John A. Scott. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1960. Pp. ix, 459. $10.00.)

This work, translated from the Italian *(L'Asia di Marco Polo* [Florence: Sansoni, 1957]) and revised by the author, is the outcome of two series of lectures given at Venice and Rome in 1954 to commemorate the seventh centenary of Marco Polo's birth. The author, widely recognized as an outstanding authority in Polo studies, wishes in this work "to place Polo studies on a new basis, in order to pave the way for a renewal of contributions to a direct understanding and evaluation of the text as a source of historical information" (p. 8). Innumerable studies have, indeed, been published dealing with various historical, geographical, cultural, political, literary, and religious aspects of Marco Polo's Persia, China, and India, but there are still many aspects of his work requiring detailed study. There has been, e.g., "no exhaustive study of Asiatic anthropology as documented in his volume" (p. 11). More important, however, is the apparent failure of Polo scholars to appreciate Marco's profound "sense of history, which none of his biographers has ever examined and which reveals itself in his book in his reactions as a man of the Middle Ages and a faithful subject of the Chinghizide dynasty" (pp. 11-12). Marco Polo was a remarkable man. Highly gifted, observant, and astute, he was a man of the Latin Middle Ages, a convinced Roman Catholic exploring the possibilities of converting the pagan Tartars and Nestorian heretics to the Church of Rome. On the other hand, he was a faithful servant in the employ of Kublai Khan, a grateful beneficiary of the khan's generosity, and a loyal admirer of many aspects of Chinghizide rule. The marvels of this unique experience were carefully, though artfully, displayed in his *Description of the World,* which was addressed to "emperors, kings, dukes, marquises, earls and knights, and all other people desirous of knowing the diversities of the races of mankind" (prologue). Marco Polo was profoundly aware of the historical importance of events and conditions in both East and West when he wrote the *Milione;* he was aware of the importance of his own experiences for the general public. It is an appreciation of Marco's "historical sense," consciously and subconsciously displayed in the *Milione,* that the author feels is necessary for a renewal of Polo studies in our day.

The ten disparate and unrelated chapters of this book do not pretend to exhaust Marco Polo's Asia. Almost everything is mentioned, but only certain themes are selected for detailed analysis. After a brief study of Marco's literary and geographical predecessors and his personality, the author describes certain aspects of Asiatic civilization and recounts the

naturalistic item noted in the *Milione*. A large part of the work is concerned in detail with the two richest fields of Polo's experiences, viz., the religions and the political history of the Orient. The eighth chapter, however, on Asiatic history, might have been placed more advantageously after the second chapter to give the reader a proper framework. The exciting and important ninth chapter analyzes the historical and legenday figures of the Old Man of the Mountain, Prester John and Kublai Khan. It is, in fact, the author's analysis of "Cublai Kan" known historically and seen in the *Milione* which brings out most clearly Marco Polo's sense of history. The author's final chapter, on Asiatic medicine, really shows that Marco Polo's book has little to offer the historian of medicine.

Professor Olschki's work contains a wealth of erudition and bibliographical information. It goes a long way toward placing Polo studies "on a new basis." However, it is not easy reading. Disorder, useless repetition, and an obscure style serve as obstacles to a renewal of Polo studies. The fact that these were originally distinct lectures or revisions of previously published monographs explains in part some of the disorder; but the lengthy, periodic sentences of the translator contribute greatly to the obscurity.

Much more research is needed before we have a full picture of Dominican and Franciscan missionary work in the thirteenth century. The author's summary judgment on these efforts (pp. 65-66) is too categorical and hasty. Among other available studies, the author has neglected the painstaking work of Heinrich Dörrie, "Drei Texte zur Geschichte der Ungarn und Mongolen: Die Missionsreisen des fr. Julianus O.P. ins Uralgebiet (1234/5) und nach Russland (1237) und der Bericht des Erzbischofs Peter über die Tartaren," in *Nachrichten d. Akad. d. Wissen. in Göttingen*, (1956). Similarly the author's claim that "learned medieval Catholic writers" did not take pains to understand the most obvious and fundamental doctrines of Islam (p. 239 *et passim*) is too categorical. The Koran itself had been made available in the twelfth century at the instance of Peter the Venerable; by the middle of the thirteenth century various *studia Arabica* had been established in Spain by the Dominican Order, and before the end of the century Ramón Marti, O.P., had written his monumental *Pugio fidei* and his lengthy refutation of the Koran. The *Summa contra gentiles* of St. Thomas Aquinas alone should have given the author pause. Nevertheless, this erudite study is the most authoritative work available to English readers concerning Marco Polo's Asia.

JAMES A. WEISHEIPL

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The Life of St. Catherine of Siena. By Blessed Raymond of Capua. Translated by George Lamb. (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1960. Pp. 384. $4.95.)

George Lamb, the well known translator and neo-convert, has exercised his art in giving us the first new English text of Blessed Raymond's biography of St. Catherine in more than a generation. The translation is important because Raymond of Capua's work has the value of being the first biography of St. Catherine, written not only by a contemporary, but also by the saint's own confessor, himself a *beatus.*

The biography itself is replete with the wonders which God worked in Catherine and which Catherine worked in her short life of thirty-three years. It is, therefore, a fundamental sourcebook of those events of the saint's life which her confessor thought notable. It differs from some modern hagiography in at least two points. First, the biographer, although sincerely protesting to be factual, betrays himself by a certain naïveté and even credulity while never quoting sources except in a most general way. Secondly, little effort is made to paint a portrait of Catherine—what she did seemed to the author more important than what she was. Perhaps, it is unfair to judge this book by modern scientific standards, but what has been said is, nonetheless, necessary for the historian to know.

The reviewer found the work to be rather tedious reading—although the translation runs along well enough—for the reasons given above as also for the author's asides, moralizing, and occasional high-flown passages. Aside from Father Thomas Gilby's excellent critical introduction and the very deep impression left on the reader by St. Catherine's prodigious mortifications, her unfailing charity, and spirit of prayer, the main value of the book to the historian would seem to lie simply in its being an example of fourteenth-century hagiography.

GEORGE A. EIRICH

St. Mary's of the Barrens
Perryville

MODERN EUROPE

The Spain of Ferdinand and Isabella. By Jean Hippolyte Mariejol. Translated and edited by Benjamin Keen. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1961. Pp. xxiv, 429. $7.50.)

Of this book, which first appeared in 1892 as *L'Espagne sous Ferdinand et Isabell: Le Gouvernement, les Institutions et les Mouers,* Roger B. Merriman remarked: "By all odds the best general picture of the political, social and administrative system of the Spanish kingdom in the period of

the Catholic Kings." After nearly seventy years we have to agree with Mariejol's translator and editor that this still rings true. Professor Keen has not ignored the many problems inherent in reproducing this study for American readers; nor has he solved them. He discusses in his preface recent scholarship which rips from the Catholic sovereigns that aura of greatness which has been traditionally theirs. But at the same time, he ignores other scholars, or relegates to a bibliographical section (pp. 364-371) works by C. Sanchez Albornoz whose views do not, perhaps, coincide with those he favors, e.g., one does not find mention of Marcel Bataillon whose *Erasmo y España* might embarrass the assertion of Mariejol that Spain produced in the sixteenth century "no scholar comparable to the great savants of France and Germany, a Joseph Justus Scaliger or a Henri Estienne" (p. 312).

One of the major problems with any book about Spain is that Spain was, is, and will continue to be, controversial. One of the inherent problems of this volume is that Mariejol was a nineteenth-century liberal who put aside "his liberal preconceptions when treating such a passion-laden subject as the Spanish Inquisition" (p. x). On this touchy question Mariejol was so overzealous to emphasize the political nature of the Inquisition that he compared the sixteenth-century Jews in Spain with ten million Moslems living side by side with French colonists in Algiers in the nineteenth century and considered the "difficulties being prepared for the future" (p. 344, n. 1). By failing to mention the toll of Indian lives as a result of white men's diseases, Mariejol perpetuates the charges that the Caribbean tribes were exterminated by brutal massacres and death by slavery. By his failure to lean on the Isidorian tradition of royal absolutism, he attributes to Ferdinand and Isabella "the honor and the responsibility of its (absolutism) creation." True, the Catholic sovereigns won "concessions" from Rome on matters affecting the Church, but they were concessions regained after a long period of neglect of the royal prerogative. If the monarchs suspended the *fueros* (charters) of some towns, it was in the absolutist tradition to suspend what was once royally granted. Nor were the sovereigns "absolute owners, (of the kingdom) without obligations of any kind," (p. 334), because, traditionally, "above the King was the law." Mariejol's tendency to moralize reaches strange proportions in his concluding paragraph: "But it will not do to let an absolute monarchy fall into incompetent hands. When a man of genius establishes such a monarchy for the advantage of his family, he should be sure of his descendants."

Yet in spite of some reservations, no comparable book exists which captures under one cover the glorious achievement of Spain's first modern sovereigns. Professor Keen's translation is thus a notable contribution.

Only one blemish seems to mar the otherwise excellent flow of language—"where mine host . . ." (p. 228). The first footnote on page 349 obviously refers to Alfonso X, and not to Alfonso I, and Pulgar is spelled Palgar (p. 361, n. 18). The editor's footnote comments in brackets are essential qualifications to some passages seriously outdated. His appendices consist of a glossary of persons, an extensive glossary of Spanish terms now archaic, a complicated genealogical table of the rulers of Leon and Castille, a list of the great Spanish nobles of the period, and a chart on the meetings of the Cortes.

EDWIN F. KLOTZ

Chaffey College
Alta Loma, California

The Correspondence of Edmund Burke. Volume III: *July, 1774-June, 1778.* Edited by George H. Guttridge. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1961. Pp. xxv, 478. $12.00.)

The high standards of scholarly achievement so superbly set in the first two volumes of this definitive series, edited respectively by Thomas W. Copeland of the University of Massachusetts and Lucy S. Sutherland, Principal of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, are maintained in Volume III. That this is so is a tribute both to the editor of this particular volume, George H. Guttridge, Sather professor of history in the University of California, and to the general editor, Professor Copeland.

Guttridge's notes are models of lucidity and are always scrupulously careful to remain germane to the issue at hand. His brief introduction is at once well written and most helpful to the general reader about to thread the maze of Burke's prolific correspondence replete with the complex relationships which characterized his career. There are some 300 letters in this volume, about one-half of them being printed for the first time. During the years covered, his correspondence is overwhelmingly political in character. Among his most frequent correspondents here are the Marquess of Rockingham, the Duke of Portland, and Richard Champion, the Bristol porcelain manufacturer who became one of Burke's closest friends. Two correspondences which had loomed so large in the first two volumes of this series come to a close in this one. These are the exchanges involving Burke's service as colonial agent to the Assembly of New York, terminated in June, 1775, by the outbreak of hostilities, and that with his Irish friend, Charles O'Hara, brought to a term by the latter's decease in February, 1776.

The unifying element in the present volume concerns the related themes of Bristol and America. Burke was chosen to represent Bristol, then second

city of the British Empire, in the autumn of 1774, a choice largely dictated by the prominence he had achieved as a consequence of his role in the parliamentary debates on American affairs. In addition to the personalities mentioned above, Burke's correspondents in this volume include such disparate figures as Charles Fox, the Duke of Richmond, William Baker, James Barry, Hely Hutchinson, and many others. To round out the book there are a simplified genealogical table of Burke's mother's relatives, a useful device to help place several of them who are mentioned in the letters, and a good index.

THOMAS H. D. MAHONEY
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Germany: A Modern History. By Marshall Dill, Jr. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1961. Pp. x, 467; xxiii. $8.75).

To the University of Michigan History of the Modern World, Professor Marshall Dill, Jr., has contributed a sympathetic, moderate, sensible study of modern Germany. More expository than interpretive, it lacks the individuality of style and viewpoint which characterizes, e.g., the contributions of Albert Guérard and D. Mack Smith to this series. But to a subject difficult to handle with clarity and objectivity, Dill brings a dispassionate, straightforward treatment. He has written with four types of readers in mind: the educated public, the undergraduate, the graduate student, and the teacher who seeks "lecture material or . . . explanations of troublesome points." To this reviewer, the author seems most successful in relation to his first two audiences. In keeping with the general pattern of the single-volume histories in this series, Dill emphasizes the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. His introductory chapters—not quite one-fifth of the book—provide a brief survey from Caesar to Napoleon. After 1814, he proceeds with gradually increasing detail through the nineteenth century and devotes the last half of the volume to the years from 1918 to 1960.

How does this work compare with the other English-language studies of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Germany which we now have? As might be expected, it lacks the opinionated, but always stimulating, character of A. J. P. Taylor's *The Course of German History.* That paragon of condensation by E. J. Passant and others, *A Short History of Germany: 1815-1945,* packs a wealth of detail into half as many pages; the economic sections by W. O. Henderson are better than Dill's. But on the other hand, Dill is able to provide more description of political events and to include problems of intellectual development which Passant has been forced to omit. The latter's work is more evenly balanced than the respected and widely-used work of the late Koppel S. Pinson, which

excels in its study of the social-political-intellectual development of Germany in the nineteenth century and during World War I and the Weimar Republic. But Dill includes a clear and rational account of foreign policy, a subject to which Pinson intentionally paid little attention. Although the former does not probe intellectual problems as deeply as Pinson did, he has wisely chosen a few individuals from various periods to illustrate major trends, e.g., Wagner and Nietzsche for "Bismarck's Germany." In my opinion, the hundred pages on the years from 1918 to 1933 are the best. Here Dill blends domestic and foreign policies with social and economic problems into a logically flowing narrative. For the Bismarckian, Wilhelmine, and Hitlerian periods, he used a topical approach in which foreign policy stands separate from domestic, with the inevitable problems of repetition and lack of unity.

An excellent bibliographical essay concludes the book. In view of the audience for whom he is writing, Dill decided to eliminate "ruthlessly" anything not available in English; but I wish he had compromised enough to include a few untranslated works by men such as Schnabel, Eyck, and Ritter. And finally, would not three brief tables have provided an illustration of changing political fortunes in the parliaments of the Second Empire, Weimar, and Bonn almost impossible to visualize from mere description? Professor Dill has provided a survey distinguished by its reasonable tone, good sense, and balance. But even within the limits he has imposed, could he not have given his reader a little deeper interpretation and analysis than he has chosen to do?

THOMAS T. HELDE

Georgetown University

France and the Economic Development of Europe, 1800-1914: Conquests of Peace and Seeds of War. By Rondo E. Cameron. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1961. Pp. xviii, 586. $10.00.)

Professor Cameron describes the remarkable vigor and, to most of us, the surprising extent of French economic enterprise in other European states during the nineteenth century. As historian, economic historian and economist, he offers a work of great utility to practitioners in all three fields. After a brief introductory chapter on the state of the European economy at the start of the nineteenth century, Part I discusses "determinants of economic progress," their workings in France and their export to the rest of Europe. More illustrative and factual than exhaustive or analytical, these pages, like the rest of the book, excel in giving the reader a close look at how things were done, so rarely clear under the generalizations and necessary brevity of comprehensive economic histories. If the benefits to Europe of the Napoleonic imperium appear overdrawn,

seen as they are from the French point of view, the following pages provide ample corrective. Not only the reforms of the empire but its demise were vital to the successes and consequent prestige of French science, technology, economic and administrative methods throughout Europe in the first two-thirds of the century.

In Part II the author favors French historians with fully detailed accounts of how things were done in what he calls the sinews of growth: credit and transport. The struggle in banking and railroads between the Rothschilds and Pereires, under the Second Empire when the latter enjoyed political favor for a time, is narrative both absorbing and hard-headed. This episode, together with others earlier and later, suggests that an authoritarian regime, provided it is informed by intelligent economic advice, can force a partnership among political leaders, economic theorists, and entrepreneurs that is more salutary to free enterprise than a government too closely controlled by the established business community.

Part III provides case histories of French-aided industrial development—and French loans for revolutions, reactions, and preparations for war—that helpfully complicate the problem of aid to under-developed societies. What conditions are necessary for foreign capital investment to bear fruit in less developed countries? Professor Cameron's answers, including literacy, social mobility, and a modern legal order (which he opposes to orders that he doubtfully chooses to call traditional or theocratic), must be heartily recommended to all those now concerned with economic progress in the southern hemisphere.

PAUL A. GAGNON

University of Massachusetts

UNITED STATES

A Guide to Archives and Manuscripts in the United States. Edited by Philip M. Hamer. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1961. Pp. xxiii, 775. $12.50.)

This expertly edited guide, compiled for the National Historical Publications Commission, is a most useful tool for writers of history. Although the volume does not contain a complete list of all groups of archives and manuscripts that exist in the United States, it can help a searcher to find countless particular collections that may satisfy his needs. The accuracy of the information provided about the 1,300 depositories that are included in this guide depends on the care with which the archivists or curators of these institutions furnished the editor with the requested data. To Dr. Hamer himself, however, must be given the praise and credit for the clear arrangement of the materials, which are divided into

geographical sections, first by the fifty states of the Union, the District of Columbia, and the other territorial units in alphabetical order, then under each state by cities and towns, and finally under each city by the various depositories located there. For each depository there are usually a general statement of its field of special interest and some indication of its size. Next, the individuals whose papers are preserved there are named and identified; in this way more than 7,600 persons are mentioned. The same method is employed for the records of numerous religious, political, social, and commercial organizations. At the end of the entry for each depository a reference is given (if available) to printed sources describing the holdings in greater detail. If the searcher does not know where the papers of a particular person or organization are kept, he need only turn to the excellent index, which occupies 266 columns.

In regard to the history of the Catholic Church in the United States a few examples will illustrate the wide variety of institutions listed in this guide. Among them are chancery offices and other ecclesiastical headquarters, e.g., the archdiocesan chancery of Dubuque and the Santa Barbara Mission in California; abbeys and monasteries, e.g., St. Meinrad's Archabbey in Indiana and St. Benedict's Abbey in Atchison, Kansas; provincialates of religious orders of men, e.g., the Franciscan Province of the Immaculate Conception in New York City; motherhouses of sisterhoods, e.g., the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth in Kentucky; universities, seminaries, and colleges from coast to coast; and various associations, e.g., the Polish Roman Catholic Union in Chicago, and the Gallery of Living Catholic Authors in Webster Groves, Missouri. The holdings of such depositories consist not only in the official records of the Catholic institutions to which they belong but also, in many cases, in collections ranging from mediaeval parchments to contemporary correspondence.

The Library of Congress is planning to publish in book form its National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections, in which the main entries are the names of persons, societies and the like, and not the names of the depositories. Until this highly desirable project is realized, however, Dr. Hamer's guide will be unique and indispensable.

ROBERT TRISCO

The Catholic University of America

Early Midwestern Travel Narratives: An Annotated Bibliography, 1634-1850. By Robert R. Hubach. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 1961. Pp. x, 149. $6.00.)

Scholarship and beauty are combined most agreeably to make this bibliography a veritable treasury of frontier Americana. A notable contribution to the enrichment of American literary studies, it owes its origin

to a confessed "three-fold interest—an interest in the American frontier, in literature in general, and in books of travel."

This interest so creative in its possibilities found its center in that immense region of the American Midwest which marked the arrival of the French in 1634, and which had "gradually ceased to exist" by 1850 under the impact of a quickening Far West movement. Two centuries and more of travel narrative, primary source material, had been committed to diaries and journals and even to books recounting their writers' experiences in their adjustment to frontier life. Even at that, the yield of all those years has not been exhausted, for countless tales may yet be reposing in private sources.

The preface to this bibliography makes clear how all this collection, subjected to closest examination and meticulous classification, is arranged chronologically in the fourteen following chapters. Copious annotation, concise and clear, accompanies each entry and generous footnotes are provided for each chapter. The index, too, is gratifyingly complete.

Although Professor Hubach states that he does not wish the bibliography to be considered "a history text book," there is to be found here a world of exciting material to inspire writers both factual and imaginative.

To this scholarly work the artistic touch has been pleasingly added. It is here in the beautiful type and paper, in the Jersey Antique that binds the volume, and in the striking cover design so appropriately harmonious with the spirit of this bibliography.

MILDRED M. CONNELY

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

On July 6 a meeting was held at King's College of the University of London for the purpose of organizing what has been called the Society for Ecclesiastical History. The principal object of the new society will be the furtherance of the study of ecclesiastical history and the maintenance of contacts between British scholars working in that field and scholars living outside Great Britain. The group elected as their first president M. David Knowles, Regius professor of modern history in the University of Cambridge, who read the only paper of the day on the mediaeval Archbishops of York. Father Knowles' name is a familiar one to readers of this REVIEW, and they are grateful for his superb three-volume history of the religious orders in mediaeval England and numerous other works. W. H. C. Frend will act as secretary of the new society, Charles Duggan as treasurer, and C. W. Dugmore of King's College, editor of the *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* who was responsible for initiating the meeting of the church historians, was named chairman of a seven-man committee for the general management of the society's business, a committee to which four more members may later be added.

An American Servite Historical Conference has been formed to assist and further the work of the Servite Historical Institute in Rome, to co-ordinate the activities of all Servites engaged in such studies in the United States, and to make the results of their research available by means of a journal and other publications. In conjunction with the conference a symposium was held at Stonebridge Priory, Lake Bluff, Illinois, on August 21. Conrad Borntrager read a paper entitled "A Bibliography for the History of the Order: Conspectus and Evaluation." Louis Breton and Damian Charboneau discussed "Prospectives for a History of the American Provinces." The final paper was read by Justin Ryska on the subject "Servite Historiography: A Positive Approach." Christopher Ross, co-ordinator of the committee, outlined plans for the coming year. The Servites are looking forward to the centenary of their establishment in the United States (1870-1970). The symposium was attended by educators representing the order's colleges, high schools, and monasteries throughout the country and by sister-delegates from three Servite mother-houses.

The fifty-fourth annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the A.H.A. was held on August 29-31 at San Jose State College. Among the participants were Richard H. Trame, S.J., of Loyola University of Los

Angeles who read a paper entitled "Appeals to a Pope Better Informed: A Polemical Treatise of Rodrigo Sanchez de Arevalo, 1404-1470"; John A. Donohue, S.J., of the same institution who had a paper on "Jesuit Contributions to Civil Development in Sonora—Arizona"; and William O. Shanahan of the University of Oregon, who was the commentator on two papers dealing with modern Germany. John B. McGloin, S.J., of the University of San Francisco concluded at the meeting his term as a member of the Association's council.

The second meeting on the History of the Church in Italy was held at Rome on September 5-9. The general theme of the papers and discussions was "Bishops and Dioceses in Italy in the Middle Ages." Among the speakers were professors from the Universities of Bologna, Edinburgh, Florence, Grenoble, Louvain, Perugia, Pisa, the Lateran in Rome, and the Sacred Heart in Milan, and scholars from the Italian Historical Institute for the Middle Ages, the German Historical Institute in Rome, the Vatican Archives, and the Liturgical Institute of Regensburg. The proceedings of the meeting will be published in the collection "Italia Sacra" by Antenore of Padua.

The first annual Father Cyril Gaul Memorial Lecture was given at St. Meinrad's Seminary on September 24 by John Tracy Ellis. "Church History in the Life of Priests and Religious" was the topic chosen by Monsignor Ellis, who thus inaugurated a new series sponsored by the seminary faculty in co-operation with *St. Meinrad Essays*. The lectures are intended to perpetuate the memory of Father Cyril Gaul, O.S.B. (1884-1946), who made significant contributions to the intellectual development of his students as professor of church history and sacred scripture for thirty years, and as a faculty advisor of *St. Meinrad Historical Essays* from its foundation in 1928.

A "Conference of Middle East Studies," intended to serve as an introduction to the politics, peoples, geography, culture, history, and problems of this ancient and vital region of the world, will be held at the Coronado Hotel in St. Louis on November 3-5. The director of the conference is Clement S. Mihanovich of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology in Saint Louis University. Other universities that will be represented by speakers are Michigan, Johns Hopkins, Harvard, Pennsylvania, and Washington.

Members of the AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION are reminded that the annual meeting will be held at the Sheraton Park and Shoreham Hotels in Washington, D.C., on December

28-30. John K. Zeender, chairman of the committee on program, has completed the arrangements for the speakers at the three sessions. Copies of the program will be sent to the members together with the ballots for the election of new officers in the near future.

Marquette University has acquired the Joseph McCarthy Papers, which are now being prepared for research and will soon be made available.

For some years a revised edition of Volumes I and II of the *Cambridge Ancient History* has been in preparation. The new editors, E. S. Edwards, C. J. Gadd, and N. G. L. Hammond, have finally decided to issue the new volumes in parts, and thus make the revision available to readers as soon as possible. Accordingly, they have issued two fascicles which will soon be followed by others. The first is entitled "The Religion and Mythology of the Greeks," by W. K. C. Guthrie, and constitutes Chapter 40 of the projected Volume II (New York: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 55. $1.25). The second is entitled "Troy" by C. W. Blegen and is made up of sections from Chapters 18 and 24 of Volume I and from Chapters 15 and 21 of Volume II (1961. Pp. 16. 75¢). It is hardly necessary to observe that the same high standard of scholarship that has been a distinguishing mark of the *Cambridge Ancient History* is being maintained. The fascicles have their own pagination and provisional bibliography. The two volumes, when completed, will have renumbered pages and will be furnished with maps, chronological tables, and indexes. A new *Volume of Plates* is also promised.

A series of biographies of the more eminent popes of ancient, mediaeval, and modern times is being prepared under the general editorship of Raymond H. Schmandt, associate professor of history in Loyola University, Chicago. All the volumes in the series will be written by competent scholars; they will be short lives of the pontiffs offering both historical reliability and popular appeal. The first volume in the series, *Pope Eugenius IV* by Joseph Gill, S.J., is scheduled for publication early in 1962. Other volumes now in preparation are the following: a collective biography of popes preceding Leo I by E. G. Weltin, Leo I by Francis X. Murphy, C.SS.R., Gregory the Great by Dr. Schmandt, Nicholas I by Henry G. J. Beck, Leo IX by Owen J. Blum, O.F.M., Gregory VII by Walter Ullmann, Alexander III by Marshall Baldwin, Innocent IV by Brian Tierney, Paul III by Clarence L. Hohl, Innocent XI by Raymond J. Maras, Pius VII by Margaret M. O'Dwyer, Pius IX and Pius X by Thomas P. Neill, and Pius XI by Edward Gargan. It is hoped that the announcement of this partial list will attract attention and collaboration of other distinguished church historians in order that additional

popes may be included in the series. This commendable publishing venture, which is to be called "The Popes Through History," has been undertaken by the Newman Press; the price of each volume is not expected to exceed $3.50.

A new series on English church history is being published by the Oxford University Press. The first volume, *The Pre-Conquest Church in England,* by Margaret Deanesly, has already appeared and will be reviewed in a later issue of this journal. The second volume, which will embrace the later Middle Ages, is being written by J. C. Dickinson, general editor of the series. In all, five volumes are being planned. Since the last major survey of the whole ecclesiastical history of England appeared over half a century ago, the subject has been greatly developed in extent and scope. The aim of this new series, therefore, is to re-tell the history of the Church from the time of the Britons to the nineteenth century, with the aid of the latest sources, researches, and techniques. Each volume will be as comprehensive as possible and will be written by a scholar recognized in his own field.

In 1941 the Most Reverend Richard O. Gerow, Bishop of Natchez, published a volume on Catholicism in his see city that was entitled *Cradle Days of St. Mary's at Natchez.* It traced the beginnings of the Church from 1798 to the departure in 1880 of William Henry Elder, Natchez's third bishop, for Cincinnati, where he had been appointed coadjutor to Archbishop John B. Purcell. Bishop Gerow has now added a sequel which he calls *St. Mary's Parish, Natchez. Bishop Janssens' Administration, 1880-1888,* that carries the story through the regime of the fourth Bishop of Natchez. The narrative of thirty-two pages is supplemented by an appendix on the windows of the old Natchez cathedral and a brief index.

The *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* still appears after a delay of two years, but it is well worth waiting for. Volume XXV (1959), which has only recently been published, begins with a detailed description of an anonymous Christian cemetery (catacombs) in the Villa Doria Pamphjli at Rome by Aldo Nestori (pp. 5-50, with twenty-five illustrations). Lucien De Bruyne, the editor, takes into account the disagreement prevailing in iconographical studies in an article entitled "Les 'lois' de l'art paléochrétienne comme instrument herméneutique" (pp. 105-186, to be continued). Among the shorter contributions the following may be noted: "Alla ricerca delle tracce di Cristianesimo sulle tombe di Lione prima della pace della Chiesa" by Amable Audin and Yves Burnand (pp. 51-70); "Catacombe inedite di Cava d'Ispica [in Sicily]" by Giuseppe Angello (pp. 87-104);

and "La criptografia mistica ed i graffiti Vaticani" by Antonio Ferrua, S.J. (pp. 231-247). There is also an account of the archaeological discoveries in Greece in the years 1956-1958 by D. I. Pallas (pp. 187-223).

The Essex Recusant Society's journal *Essex Recusant,* which appears in mimeographed form, is now in its third volume. The issue for August, 1961 contains thirteen brief articles extending over a total of fifty-three pages. The editor is Monsignor Daniel Shanahan, and the annual subscription price is ten shillings which should be sent to P. F. Coverdale, Esq., 31 Courtfield Road, London, S.W. 7.

The third fascicle of the current volume (XXXI, 1961) of *Collectanea Franciscana* is dedicated to St. Veronica Giuliani, the Capuchin nun and "teacher and exemplar of the spiritual life," on the occasion of the third centenary of her birth. Among the articles written in five languages are biographical, bibliographical, iconographical and theological studies of the great Italian mystic and stigmatic who was abbess in Città di Castello at the time of her death in 1727.

A comprehensive bibliography of Jaime Balmes constitutes almost the entire annual volume (XXXIII, 1960) of *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia.* The compiler, Juan de Mendoza, S.J., has listed 670 editions of Balmes' writings in the original language and in translations in the first part of his study, and 893 works about Balmes in the second part. There is also an index of the authors, translators, periodicals, and reviews cited in the bibliography.

The seventieth anniversary of the encyclical ***Rerum novarum*** is commemorated in the issue of *Vita e Pensiero* for March-April, 1961. Mario Romani has contributed an article entitled "La preparazione della *Rerum novarum*" (pp. 156-173), which traces the social history of the years preceding 1891. Agostino Ferrari has investigated the implementation of the papal teaching in a study called "Divulgazione ed elaborazione dottrinale nella luce della *Rerum novarum:* le Settimane Sociali" (pp. 188-207). In the other articles Leo XIII's great pronouncement is treated from the standpoint of economics, labor, and international relations.

The 1960 issue (Volume XXIV) of the *Bibliografia Missionaria,* compiled by three Oblates of Mary Immaculate in Rome, viz., John Rommerskirchen, Nicholas Kowalsky, and Joseph Metzler, has recently been published by the Pontificia Università di Propaganda Fide. All kinds of publications concerning missionary activity which appeared last year are included in this classified list. There is one section for works on the

general history of the missions, and separate sections for each of the major geographical areas of the world in which the entries are numbered and arranged in alphabetical order under the name of the author. In this way it is easy to find books and articles on the missionary history of every part of the globe.

The St. Mary's County Historical Society of Maryland for the past ten years has endeavored to preserve St. Clement's Island, where Lord Baltimore's colonists first disembarked in March, 1634. The first object of the society's efforts has been to protect this historic site from erosion, which has reduced the area from 400 to about forty acres over the last three centuries. Secondly, the society desires to have the island made into a Maryland shrine commemorating the establishment of religious liberty in the American colonies. The achievement of these goals now seems to be in sight. Through the interest of Rear Admiral Thomas H. Robbins, Jr., United States Navy, Commandant, Potomac River Naval Command, the Navy Department has declared the island excess property with the hope that it may be set aside as hallowed ground. Congressman Lankford and Senator Beall of Maryland have introduced into the Congress legislation necessary to transfer the property to the state. In order to realize its objectives fully, however, the society still needs widespread co-operation and support.

M. K. Dziewanowski, associate professor of history in Boston College and associate of the Russian Research Center of Harvard University, will be visiting professor of Russian history at Brown University during the academic year 1961-1962.

Edward T. Gargan, associate professor of modern history in Loyola University, Chicago, delivered a paper on "Alexis de Tocqueville and Historical Prognosis," at the first annual meeting of the International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations held in Salzburg, Austria, during the week of October 8-15.

Paul S. Lietz, chairman of the Department of History in Loyola University, Chicago, has announced the following promotions and leaves of absence. John A. Kemp, S.J., has been given the rank of professor, and Raymond H. Schmandt, that of associate professor. John Reardon has been allowed one year for research in early American history. Francis Grollig, S.J., has received a Fulbright Grant for anthropological studies in Peru. And Louis Zabkar will go to Egypt for a year as a research associate with the Assuan Dam project of the University of Chicago's Oriental Institute.

Thomas H. D. Mahoney, who was recently promoted to the rank of professor of history in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, left for England in early August to spend a year as a Guggenheim Fellow engaged in research for a new book on Edmund Burke and the American Revolution.

Luis Medino-Ascensio, S.J., professor of ecclesiastical history in Montezuma Seminary (New Mexico), is directing the publication of a collection of historical articles on the occasion of the centennial in 1962 of the founding of the Diocese of Querétaro (Mexico). Father Medina-Ascensio is also publishing a work which treats of the norms and methods of ordering and conserving the historical documents of the Church. This work is scheduled to appear under the title of "Archivos y Bibliotecas Eclesiasticos. Normas para su orden y conservacion" at the end of 1961.

Herbert W. Rice, professor of history in Marquette University, has been cited by the Wisconsin State Historical Society for his contributions to the newly published *Dictionary of Wisconsin Biography* (1960).

D. Harrison Smith has been re-appointed lecturer in the Department of History of the University College of the University of Maryland. In this position he will give lectures to the personnel of the U. S. Army and Air Force at various installations in Europe.

Ralph Weber, who served as registrar at Marquette University for the past two years and whose book *Notre Dame's John Zahm* was recently published by the University of Notre Dame Press, has rejoined the Department of History at Marquette on a full-time basis. Thomas O. Hanley, S.J., author of *Their Rights and Liberties* (1959), has also returned to the same department after a leave of two years.

Louis de Wohl, author of a popular series of books about saints, died on June 2 in Lucerne, Switzerland, at the age of fifty-eight. A German-Hungarian, born in Berlin, Mr. de Wohl emigrated to England in 1935, served in the British Army in World War II, and subsequently became a British citizen. The saints who have been the subjects of his fictionalized biographies include Thomas Aquinas, Benedict, Francis of Assisi, Paul the Apostle, Francis Xavier, Augustine, and Catherine of Siena. Before he died Mr. de Wohl completed a manuscript called "Founded on a Rock: A History of the Catholic Church," which has just been published by J. B. Lippincott Company. During his lifetime Mr. de Wohl received important honors from the Church and from Catholic organizations: in

1958 he was promoted to the rank of Grand Officer of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre; in the spring of 1959 Pope John XXIII conferred on him the rank of Knight Commander of the Order of Saint Gregory the Great; and in 1960 he was awarded by the Knights of Malta their Grand Cross of Merit.

Joseph H. Brady, Rector of Immaculate Conception Seminary, Darlington, New Jersey, died suddenly on July 3 six weeks short of his fifty-seventh birthday. Monsignor Brady took his A.B. degree at Seton Hall College in 1925, an S.T.D. at the Urban College of the Propaganda, Rome, in 1930, and his Ph.D. degree at Columbia University in 1937 where his dissertation was published under the title *Rome and the Neopolitan Revolution of 1820.* He began his teaching in 1925 at Seton Hall Preparatory School and five years later joined the faculty of Seton Hall College, where he was professor of history and chairman of the department from 1937 to 1955, the year that he was appointed to the rectorship of the seminary at Darlington. In that same year Monsignor Brady published his second book, *Confusion Twice Confounded,* which was a critical analysis of the philosophy of law lying behind recent decisions of the Supreme Court in the field of education. He had gathered a large amount of material for a history of the Archdiocese of Newark, but a severe heart attack some years ago prevented him from proceeding with the writing of the work. He was a member of a number of professional societies and since 1939 had been a member of the AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION of which he was second vice president in 1943.

BRIEF NOTICES

AARON, DANIEL. *Men of Good Hope. A Story of American Progressives.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1961. Pp. xiv, 329. $1.95 paperback.)

The title of this book is misleading. What Aaron has written about is the nineteenth-century American progressive tradition and some of the men who made it. His thesis is that the progressive tradition needs rehabilitation to cope with the troublesome times of the 1960's, and in order to bring about such a change, an understanding of men like Emerson, Parker, Bellamy, George, Lloyd, and Howells, is both pertinent and necessary.

It is Aaron's contention that the reform movements associated with Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson are a form of bogus progressivism, that a revitalization of the American democracy, based on the earlier nineteenth-century reformist ideals, is vitally needed, and thus an examination of the above personalities has a contemporary utility. "The idealistic and ethical concerns of the old progressives," he says, "are essential to any liberal movement."

This is not an original view, for other writers have shown the indebtedness of twentieth-century progressives to an earlier tradition. Professor Aaron's treatment of the old progressives is, nevertheless, refreshing in its emphasis, which is intellectual in approach and literary in style. He has obviously read carefully in the period which the book covers, and what he says about the people involved shows true critical insight, whether one agrees with the conclusions or not. Instead of simply telling what Henry George did, Aaron analyzes what George thought about and why he did what he did. This is an exceptionally good book and one that deserves to be read more than once.

The book was first published ten years ago and has recently been reissued in paperback. The author states in the preface that "the reprint is substantially the same as the original . . .," that he has made no major changes. There are no footnotes and the bibliography is sparse but then the book is not meant to be a definitive study, but an introduction to what in 1951 was a neglected area of American intellectual history. KNOX MELLON, JR.

AYLMER, G. E. *The King's Servants. The Civil Service of Charles I, 1625-42.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1961. Pp. xii, 521. $8.75.)

Those who have read the short preliminary studies by Mr. Aylmer, lecturer in modern history in the University of Manchester, on aspects of the national administrative system under the second Stuart, e.g., "The Commission on Fees, 1627-40," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research,* XXXI (May, 1958), and "Attempts at Administrative Reform, 1625-40," *English Historical Review,* LXXII (1957), will find the present book equally as meaty. The author has not only skillfully compiled an unquestionably authoritative index to the offices and officers of the central government of Caroline England; he has fixed them in pleasing harmony with as much historical craftsmanship and style as the heavy nature of his subject would permit. Mr. Aylmer has plowed a virgin field. As there exists no comparative study for the period, no chapter in the book is without significant new material, except the first which successfully unravels the complexities of the central governmental departments. The "King's Servants" and the offices they held are viewed from several vantage points—political, social, and economic—and the results are for the most part not unusual. Offices were bought, sold, and willed; original appointments, promotions, and occasional dismissals depended a good deal on birth, family connections, and the favor of the king or his higher officers. Talent, training, and experience seem to have been secondary qualifications among candidates for the important, rich posts.

The author contends (and he proves his contention beyond any doubt) that a bureaucracy did exist in Caroline England, though the civil service by modern standards was small and peculiar in structure and operation. For this reason, Mr. Aylmer cautions us that the civil service of Charles I cannot be compared with more modern bureaucracies. One wonders, therefore, why he goes beyond his century in making comments on Harold Laski's views about recent bureaucracies and on Marxian theory of government and of the state? MARTIN J. HAVRAN

BATLLORI, MIQUEL, S.I. *Balmes i Casanovas: Estudis biografics i doctrinals.* (Barcelona: Editorial Balmes. 1959. Pp. 219.)

The subjects of Father Batllori's book are two eminent Catalonians: Jume Balmes, illustrious eighteenth-century philosopher and man of letters; and Ignasi Casanovas, founder of the *Biblioteca Balmes* to which series the present work belongs, and editor of the thirty-three volume *Obras Completas de Balmes.*

The author does not claim to have produced a complete biography or a full treatment of the writings of either of his subjects. He merely presents to his reader a series of fifteen unconnected articles—ten on Balmes and five on Casanovas—all of which have previously appeared in periodicals or encyclopedias, the earliest in 1943 and the most recent in 1956. Three of these articles are written in Italian, two in Catalan, one in German, and the remainder in Spanish.

Although several facets of the life and works of Balmes and Casanovas are touched upon, Father Batllori is principally concerned with the thought and literary style of his subjects. Special stress is given to the important position occupied by these two men in the field of Catalonian studies.

Father Batllori plans at some future date to publish a definitive biography of Casanovas, his Jesuit confrère, who was killed in 1936 during the Spanish Civil War. The present work seems to be intended as a preliminary study. CYPRIAN J. LYNCH

BAUR, CHRYSOSTOMUS, O.S.B. *John Chrysostom and His Time.* Volume I: *Antioch;* Volume II: *Constantinople.* Translated by Sister M. Gonzaga, R.S.M. (Westminster: Newman Press. Volume I, 1959; pp. lxxv, 339; Volume II, 1960. Pp. vi, 488; each volume $6.75.)

This English translation is described as having been based on the second edition of Dom Chrysostomus Baur's standard biography of St. John Chrysostom, *Johannes Chrysostomus und seine Zeit* (1st ed.; 2 volumes; Munich, 1928). However, apart from the addition of some bibliography, there is no evidence that any changes have been made in the main text or in the notes. The German original, accordingly, is now somewhat old, but it still remains the best modern biography of the greatest of Christian orators. The English translation has been a labor of love, but, unfortunately, it leaves much to be desired. The English rendering is often unidiomatic and exhibits numerous more or less serious errors. Furthermore, the translator has made no attempt to bring the bibliography up to date. Those who cannot read the original German must be warned that the translation should be used with care. MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

BELLINGER, ALFRED R. *Troy. The Coins. Supplementary Monograph 2.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press for the University of Cincinnati. 1961. Pp. xiii, 220 [27 plates]. $17.50.)

The four magistral double volumes, *Troy. Publications of the Excavations Conducted by the University of Cincinnati, 1932-1938,* edited by C. W. Blegen, *et. al.,* have already been reviewed in this journal. *Supplementary Monograph 2* deals with coins that came to light in the ex-

cavations: 575 identified pieces and, in addition, a hoard of 218 *Antoniniani*. The bulk of the coins are Hellenistic and Roman, but a sprinkling of Byzantine pieces and two coins from the period of the crusaders were also found. The preparation of this volume was entrusted to Professor Bellinger of Yale, a recognized specialist in numismatics, and he has performed his task in exemplary fashion. The historical introduction, running commentary, and appendices supply invaluable background material and full interpretation. Indices cover mints, rulers, and types. A list of monograms is followed by twenty-seven beautifully executed plates which illustrate all types of coins found. MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

CARRIÈRE, GASTON, O.M.I. *Histoire documentaire de la Congrégation des Missionaires Oblats de Marie-Immaculée dans l'Est du Canada.* Ire Partie: *De l'arrivée au Canada à la mort du Fondateur (1841-1861)*, Tome III. (Ottawa: Editions de l'Université d'Ottawa. 1961. Pp. 363 [6 maps].)

This recently published volume by Father Carrière continues his meticulous study of the missionary efforts of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate in eastern Canada. In unfolding the story of his congregation's efforts at evangelization on the north shore of the St. Lawrence, from Labrador to Hudson's Bay, an outstanding and fundamental contribution is made to the study of Canadian history. Certainly students of Canadian church history or missiology will find a wealth of material on a little known and less appreciated mission endeavour in eastern Canada. And of probable interest to the missiologist is the account of the Oblates' attempts at colonization in the Saguenay region, which seems not without parallel in the Jesuit efforts in Paraguay. As in every good documentary history, this work is copiously annotated with letters, documents, and other materials not generally accessible. However, in its justifiable attempt at being thorough and accurate, this study in its extreme length becomes not only fragmentary, as the author himself notes, but also tedious reading for all but the professional historian. While use of the volumes is presently handicapped by the lack of a general index, one will undoubtedly be included at the completion of this work. JAMES S. O'CONNOR

CLARK, AUBERT J., O.F.M. Conv. *The Movement for International Copyright in Nineteenth Century America.* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1960. Pp. ix, 215. $3.50.)

The Platt-Simmonds Act of 1891, acknowledging the rights of aliens in respect to international copyright, and thereby protecting native authors

from competition with pirated books from abroad, has seldom been named for identification on undergraduate examinations in American cultural history. Father Clark's scholarly study of the nineteenth-century movement which culminated in its passage now establishes the act, however, as a fascinating focus of interrelationships between business and art, and between morals and money. Behind its passage in Congress, to be signed by sleight of hand by both Speaker of the House and vice-president, while a motion to reconsider the vote was still pending, lay a share of the century's tangled motives and ambitions.

American copyright law, of which the Platt-Simmonds Act was not the first legislation, is based on the power of Congress as outlined in Article I, section eight, of the Constitution:

> To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive rights to their respective writings and discoveries.

The American philosophy of copyright law is based, as I have elsewhere written, "not on the principle of protecting the author but rather, ultimately, of protecting public interest while giving the period of monopoly simply as an inducement to the author to contrive the expression of ideas." Such a view of equity, admirably democratic though it may be in terms of the commonwealth, lent itself to such self-gratifying inversions as the logic that what was good for Carey & Lea was good for the nation. It was certainly not good for the Hawthornes. The flood of pirated books, both good and bad, made English writing our dominant literary influence. There was much benefit in this, but against the proved popularity of *Peveril of the Peak* or *Charlotte, a Tale of Truth,* what publisher would bid for the manuscript novels of an American? The development of the short story in the United States was not so much a feel for brevity of form as it was because magazines and newspapers were the chief outlets for our own writers.

Yet in the end it was a combination of prudent authors and responsible publishers who were able to extend the period of copyright protection to the benefit of each, and to safeguard foreign authors published here so that we could, in turn, find protection abroad. "By the time America had decided to take its first step," Father Clark writes in his conclusion, "the rest of the civilized world had united in the Berne Convention (1887)." "Perhaps the United States lagged," he says, "because international copyright was a new kind of ownership, involving, as we have seen, not only politics and economics, but also social and psychological factors quite complex in their nature." It is altogether to Father Clark's credit that we have, indeed, seen just this in his book. NORMAN HOLMES PEARSON

DYE, MARY ELIZABETH, O.S.U. *By Their Fruits. A Social Biography of Frederick Kenkel, Catholic Social Pioneer.* (New York: Greenwich Book Publishers. 1960. Pp. 90. $2.50.)

This book intends, "to make Frederick Kenkel better known and in so doing to find and describe his position and role among Catholic social pioneers in the United States." The book largely accomplishes its purpose. It shows Frederick Kenkel, a convert to Catholicism (1890), as an intellectual, a journalist, and a soundly conservative reformer. Catholicism afforded him a cause; his talents equipped him with ample tools; and Pope Leo XIII's *Rerum novarum* sounded Kenkel's call to Catholic Action. The challenge of Leo XIII—to reconstruct the social order—became Kenkel's lifelong mission. He recast the Christian solidarism of Heinrich Pesch, S.J., into a workable American social philosophy. For sixty years, then, through the periodicals, *Amerika* and *Central-Blatt and Social Justice* (now the *Social Justice Review*), and by his labors at the Central Bureau of the Catholic Central Verein, Kenkel offered numerous practical directives for American social reform. A study of these proves him to have been an excellent social critic and apostle.

The reviewer regrets the brevity of this volume. A larger work could have offered a more thorough exposition of Kenkel and his philosophy, with more abundant and effective use of quotations from his writings. To have better accomplished the second part of her purpose, the author could have made additional valued judgments on Kenkel's position among Catholic social pioneers. Finally, it could have been shown more convincingly why Kenkel's efforts did not receive more widespread Catholic support. All in all, however, *By Their Fruits* is a useful contribution to American Catholic social studies. RONIN MURTHA

GABRIEL, A. L. *Skara House at the Mediaeval University of Paris: History, Topography, and Chartulary with Résumés in French and Swedish.* (Notre Dame: Mediaeval Institute of the University of Notre Dame. 1961. Pp. 195. $4.00.)

Skara House at the University of Paris was a hospice for Swedish students which had an intermittent existence through the fourteenth and early fifteenth century. After treating the colleges of Upsala and Linköping—which were almost contemporary establishments for students from two other Swedish dioceses—Part I of this study traces the history of the buildings in the Clos-Bruneau and of the students who lived there. These structures were purchased from the daughter and son-in-law of a deceased beadle of the French Nation by Emphastus, canon of the cathedral chapter of Växö, in 1292. He later became rector of Falköping, and finally canon

of Skara. Sometime between 1311 and 1321 he presumably transferred his houses at Paris to the Diocese of Skara. Thereafter at intervals through the fourteenth century there were students from this diocese occupying this establishment. At other times it was taken over by the English-German Nation and was rented out in part. In 1405 it was reclaimed by the diocese, and students were again installed, for whom a brief set of statutes was provided. By 1410 it was again vacated and reverted to the nation which continued to lease it out. Part II of this study describes in detail the topography of Skara House. Basic to the entire work are the eighteen archival documents edited in Part III. These include the title deeds, the statutes, and two receipts, all of which are meticulously edited, and only one of which has been previously published.

Professor Gabriel has collected all the information available about the persons and places referred to in his documents. Unfortunately, they do not give a very full picture of life in a mediaeval college, but for this not the author of the work but the taciturnity of his sources must be held responsible. CYRIL E. SMITH

GARDINER, C. HARVEY. *The Constant Captain, Gonzalo de Sandoval.* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 1961. Pp. viii, 221. $4.50.)

This small volume tells the story of a young conquistador who joined the original expeditionary force of Hernando Cortés, who set out from Cuba in 1518 to explore and to subjugate Mexico. Gonzalo de Sandoval emerges as a man competent beyond his years for he was scarcely in his twenties when the expedition began. Adventurous, loyal, and brave, he proved himself not only a good soldier, but also a trustworthy leader respected by both Spaniard and Indian. Although both he and Cortés were of the same town in Spain, it was rather Sandoval's ability and success both on the battlefield and in peace negotiations that made him Cortés' most trusted captain. Throughout the numerous campaigns as well as in the civil administration of the vast territory of New Spain, Cortés had no companion more constant and reliable than Sandoval. The careers of the two men developed side by side up to the time they returned together to Spain in 1528. Little or nothing is known of Gonzalo de Sandoval before 1518, and he died of an unknown illness shortly after his return to Spain.

The life of this young soldier who appeared briefly but prominently in the history of the Spanish conquest is interestingly presented in this book. The sources are not abundant, and the author has done a thorough job of searching out the available material, including that of the archives of Seville and Mexico City. He has, furthermore, filled in the background

by employing his considerable knowledge of Spanish military equipment and procedures in the sixteenth century. To the many intriguing questions that are left unanswered by the meager sources the author attempts to supply answers by reasonable conjecture. This method of filling out the material and filling in the lacunae leads to some repetitiousness which is at times tiresome. On the whole, however, the author succeeds very well in transmitting to his readers the sympathy and admiration which he himself clearly feels for Gonzalo de Sandoval. ARTHUR ENNIS

HURLEY, MICHAEL, S.J. *Scriptura Sola: Wyclif and His Critics.* (New York: Fordham University Press. 1960. Pp. 78.)

In a recent book entitled *The Sources of Christian Doctrine according to the Theologians of the Fourteenth Century,* Dom De Vooght claims that Wyclif has been falsely accused of relying exclusively on Sacred Scripture and thus nullifying the teaching authority of the Church. Father Hurley takes issue with him in the present dissertation submitted to the theological faculty of the Gregorian University in Rome.

He distinguishes, as De Vooght fails to do, between Wyclif's theory and practice. In theory Wyclif admits the right of the fathers, the popes, and the councils to interpret the Scriptures, but in practice repudiates their testimony whenever it conflicts with his own pre-conceived ideas. The clearest instance of this is where he denies the doctrine of Transubstantiation which had already been defined as an article of divine faith by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. Again, Father Hurley points out that De Vooght cites only the early writings of Wyclif, whereas in his later and definitive writings Wyclif admits no other authority except that of Scripture, and thus calls into question "the whole nature and function of the Church as the visible supernatural agency through which the light of divine grace and truth ordinarily reach us" (p. 71). We recommend this study for clarifying a difficult problem in the history of the mediaeval Church. STEPHEN MCKENNA

KÄHLER, HEINZ. *Rom und seine Welt. Bilder zur Geschichte und Kultur. Erläuterungen.* (München: Bayerischer Schulbuch-Verlag. 1960. Pp. 488 [149 plates]. DM. 34,50.)

In 1958, H. Kähler published an excellent volume of plates, *Rom und seine Welt: Bilder zur Geschichte und Kultur,* which was reviewed in this journal last year (XLV [January, 1960], 514). He has now given us the *Erläuterungen,* a detailed commentary on the earlier volume of plates and he has added 149 cuts and plans. The new work has been prepared with unusual care and competence. The full meaning and significance of

each of the plates is now made easily available to students and teachers. The book is furnished with a chronological table, an index of persons, a geographical index, a general index, an index of references to ancient authors and a complete list of all the illustrations and plates in the two volumes. With *Römisches Erbe* and its companion volume of *Erläuterungen*, students in German gymnasien have an unrivalled integrated collection of Latin texts and pictures illustrating all important aspects of ancient Roman life and civilization. MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

KLEMENT, FRANK L. *The Copperheads in the Middle West.* (Chicago. University of Chicago Press. 1960. Pp. xiii, 341. $7.50.)

The Copperheads of the 1860's have long been regarded as seditious, Confederate adherents, or traitors to the cause of Unionism. As Professor Klement points out, much of our traditional attitude toward this movement is based on the pat, form-fitting historical writing of James Ford Rhodes and other scholars, however diligent, whose work calls for re-examination in many particulars. The author is especially effective in delineating Copperheadism as a result of the economic hardships of the Middle West, arising from the Mississippi blockade, and from the transportation extortion charges permitted in that era on the part of the railroads.

Perhaps, the essential point to be learned from this study is that both sections, Union and Confederate, were subdivided severely by conflicts of interests, geographically and by social strata; but despite their internal rumblings, fought magnificient battles for their respective causes.

There are some lively pen pictures of Mr. Lincoln's "loyal opposition," in the persons of Marcus Mills "Brick" Pomeroy, small town editor who suggested assassinating Lincoln; William F. Story of the Chicago *Times;* and, of course, Clement L. Vallandigham who was "banished" to a somewhat ungrateful Confederacy.

The entire era, with political arrests considered commonplace, *habeas corpus* suspended or unenforceable, and language, both verbal and written, completely uninhibited, has an air that is difficult for us to appreciate today. Dr. Klement's book will aid us as a step in that direction. J. WALTER COLEMAN

LEFEVRE, P. L. F., O. Praem. (Ed.). *Les Ordinaires des Collegiales Saint-Pierre à Louvain et Saints-Pierre et Paul à Anderlecht d'après des Manuscrits du XIV^e Siècle* (Louvain: Publications Universitaires de Louvain. 1960. Pp. xxxviii, 360. FB. 350.)

Professor Lefevre continues his splendid edition of mediaeval ordos with these two texts from the southern Netherlands placed conveniently

side by side for the sake of comparison. He reminds us in his lengthy introduction of how it was Mabillon who pioneered in rescuing from their post-Tridentine oblivion these invaluable witnesses of earlier liturgical traditions; and a glance through the footnotes of Jungmann will suffice to show how indispensable they are for students of liturgy today. For in many cases the ordos are the sole witnesses remaining of once venerable liturgical traditions. More detailed than our ordo of today, they enable us to reconstruct a quite accurate picture of the liturgy of a particular mediaeval locality. These particular ordos originated in parish churches which, according to a universal practice, were in the care of canons. So this general liturgical tradition to which these texts belong is the so-called *usus canonicus* which constituted one of the two prototypes of liturgical practice, the *usus monasticus* being the other.

The editor ascribes the Louvain text to the first quarter of the fourteenth century and the Anderlecht text to the second half of the same century. He is convinced, however, that both are copies of older manuscripts. There are many additions and modifications in handwriting of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries showing clearly that the local rite remained in force while undergoing, nevertheless, a definite evolution. Thus one discerns here already the commemorations, proper prefaces, and proper parts of the canon which mark the beginning of modern juridical rubrics.

Students of Professor Lefevre at Louvain will not be disappointed with this edition. The qualities they would expect to find are all here: a sure grasp of the pertinent bibliography, loving attention to minute detail, and great caution in critical judgment. Besides his valuable introduction, he has furnished a copious set of indices. This is a model of its kind. THOMAS BOKENKOTTER

O'MEARA, JOHN J. *Porphyry's Philosophy from Oracles in Augustine.* (Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes. 1959. Pp. 184. 19 NF.)

In this monograph Professor O'Meara of University College, Dublin, has attempted to demonstrate that the work of Prophyry referred to by Augustine in *De Civitate Dei,* 10, 29, and 32, under the title, *De regressu animae* is actually Porphyry's *Philosophy from Oracles.* He has made a thorough study of the pertinent extant works and fragments of Porphyry and of all passages in the *De Civitate Dei* that can be assigned with certainty or with probability to Porphyry. He has made out a good case for his main thesis. At the same time he has shown what an important place Augustine assigned to Porphyry in the pagan intellectual tradition and why he took such pains to refute him. In the light of this

monograph it is clear that a new edition of the fragments of Porphyry's *Philosophy from Oracles* is badly needed. It would seem that Professor O'Meara is eminently qualified to prepare it. MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

RUDWICK, ELLIOTT M. *W. E. B. DuBois: A Study in Minority Group Leadership.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1960. Pp. 382. $6.00.)

Each new wind from black nations gives point to W. E. B. DuBois' sixty-year-old prediction of the rapid emergence of Africa. Those few who heard this Negro voice decades back ignored it. Now, well past his ninety-third birthday, he has surrendered his audience even among American Negroes by becoming a voice for Moscow and Peiping. This able book by a young Florida sociologist recreates DuBois' greatest days; appropriately enough, its most original pages concern his dream of Pan-Africa. After both world wars DuBois gathered representatives of darker races to protest against white colonialism. The first series of congresses was an exercise in self-delusion; but the world caught up with DuBois' ideas on anti-imperialist self-determination. In the 1945 congress, two fellow delegates were Kwame Nkrumah and Nnamdi Azikiwe, later Prime Minister of Ghana and Eastern Nigeria respectively. For Pan-Africa from the American point of view, Rudwick gives by far the best account available, even better than the works of George Padmore.

Rudwick has written essentially a biography of DuBois from his birth in Massachusetts in 1868 to his departure from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1934. The narrative follows DuBois through his education at Fisk, Harvard, and Berlin, to his academic career at Atlanta University, and finally through his great days at the NAACP (1910-1934) when he fought the accommodationist ideas of Booker T. Washington. A generation of Negro leaders grew up on DuBois' ideas, and Negro progress in the past three decades owes much to his inspiration. As a sociologist, Rudwick expresses interest in the tension created by DuBois' racial nationalism and the integrationist promise of American freedom. Unhappily, he shies away from the scholarly methodology of his trade and settles for an occasional bold sociological insight (cf. p. 75 especially) in what is essentially a straightforward biography. Even his chapter of conclusions does not cast loose from biography; it routinely repeats the previous pages in shorter form, at more than one point even lifts whole chunks out of previous chapters. Frankly, the need for a biography of DuBois was not pressing, my own study having appeared two years ago. Rudwick's use of the Negro press and his account of the in-fighting at the NAACP are better than mine,

not to mention again his section on Pan-Africa. Even so, a systematic "study in minority group leadership" would have been more valuable, and this emerges from Rudwick's work only obliquely. FRANCIS L. BRODERICK

SCOVILLE, WARREN CANDLER. *The Persecution of Huguenots and French Economic Development, 1680-1720.* (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1960. Pp. x, 497. $6.50.)

The causal connection between the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 and the economic depression that gripped France in the ensuing three decades has long been an undisputed article of historical belief. That the persecution of the Huguenots cost France dearly in terms of population loss, resultant economic stagnation, decline in specie, loss of capital funds, and technological dispersion has been accepted with little qualification from the seventeenth century to the present. Professor Scoville's important study must force the historian to revise his earlier estimates. They are no longer tenable. The author indicates that the persecution of the Calvinist minority can be considered only one factor in France's economic decline and that such non-religious factors as war and its social and financial consequences, economic regimentation, famine, and increased foreign competition were far more important in the post-1683 stagnation.

The emigration following the revocation of the edict has long been accepted as numbering about 250,000. Mr. Scoville does not appreciably alter this figure, concluding that the exodus reached perhaps 200,000 or one percent of the population—about ten percent of the Calvinist total. He does, however, reject the thesis that this emigration delivered a shattering blow to such domestic industries as silk, linen, wool, sugar refining, paper-making, and metallurgy. Detailed evidence indicates that most of these industries did not suffer decline disproportionate to that of the general economy, and that in many cases they were affected less than industry in general. The greatest economic effect of the revocation lay in the diffusion abroad of previously monopolized economic skills. England, Ireland, and Holland particularly profited from the skills and arts supplied by Huguenot immigrants. Even here, however, the author cautiously concludes on the basis of available evidence that the technological consequences of the revocation have been exaggerated.

This book is no narrow revisionism for the sake of revisionism. It is, moreover, a cautious work. To his credit, Professor Scoville prefers not to go too far; he is satisfied to leave the revocation a factor in French economic decline; he simply restores it to its proper perspective. If the author has refused to give definitive answers as to proportion of causation,

it may be questioned whether definitive answers to such questions are possible. He has accomplished the task of the historian in destroying simplicity in the area of the complex. EDMUND W. KEARNEY

SUTCLIFFE, EDMUND F., S.J. *The Monks of Qumran* (Westminster: Newman Press. 1960. Pp. xvi, 272. $5.50.)

Father Sutcliffe is fully aware of the difficulty of adding publication to the roster of general books on the Dead Sea Scrolls. In this respect, the broad studies by F. M. Cross and J. T. Milik remain unsurpassed. But the hope of the English Jesuit scholar is to portray the men of Qumran from a particular point of view: "the men of Qumran as a religious community." Nothing new thereby is added to our general knowledge of the Qumran teachings and way of life, but it is advantageous to have such a presentation. At the same time, Father Sutcliffe fortunately digresses from his point of view when he includes a well-balanced chapter on the highly publicized comparisons between Qumran and Christianity. In addition, he summarizes the published data concerning the Qumran buildings and books and the obscure history of the community (which he identifies with the Essenes), and of the "teacher of righteousness" (who lived about the middle of the second century B.C., a contemporary of Jonathan, who is the "wicked priest" in the scrolls). The book is almost evenly divided between the general discussion about Qumran and a translation of the primary texts discovered in the area. To the translation has been added an English version of the pertinent texts from Philo and Josephus. ROLAND E. MURPHY

TALPALAR, MORRIS. *The Sociology of Colonial Virginia.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1960. Pp. xi, 371. $6.00.)

Sociological analysis in the more restricted, contemporary sense is not attempted in this book, which contrasts rather than reconciles "the laws of God, supernaturalism; the laws of Nature, naturalism; and the laws of Man, artifice or sociology" (p. 238). The social origins of Virginia were naturally in England; but it was the Puritan segment of English society—"the time's social revolutionary force" (p. 292)—which first gave "this civil community a certain social form" (p. 22), that of a rural capitalism in which property achieved independence of State and Church. Post-Restoration Virginia soon became a different world, however, one shaped by Cavaliers who were able to resume in the colony a feudal way of life which the institutions of merchant capitalism no longer allowed them in England. Thus they came to father a cultivated native aristocracy,

supported by chattel slavery, and destined seven weeks before July 4, 1776, to declare secession from the empire on the basis of federalist assumptions which since 1689 had been superseded by nationalistic policy in the mother country.

The rise of the Virginia aristocracy, the decisive influence of its evaluation of land, its labor base, and the values of the plantation are the principal themes of the author. These themes are developed in large part from the standard secondary sources, although it is claimed that, for all the "wealth of writing on colonial Virginia," this is the first "objective, logically coordinated presentation of her sociology" (p. viii). The singularity of this claim suggests the personal dedication but also the limited horizons of the author, and the text reveals not a few historical and philosophical as well as syntactical quirks. The lack of an index will not help students of American institutions or the interested laymen for whom this account of social transitions may have been intended. C. JOSEPH NUESSE

WILLIAMS, GEORGE H. *Anselm: Communion and Atonement.* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House. 1960. Pp. 72.)

In what was originally a paper read at the 1956 meeting of the AHA, now published in revised and amplified form, Dr. Williams studies the theory of atonement formulated by St. Anselm of Canterbury. In this theory he sees a complete departure from the early, eastern concentration on baptism as the sacrament of atonement and incorporation into Christ, and the accentuation of the Eucharist as achieving our perfect incorporation. By such a doctrine, the author declares, Anselm effected a needed readjustment of the atonement theory more in keeping with the matured sacramental system of the Church (pp. 26, 50, 58, 62 ff.). Dr. Williams seems to believe that for Anselm baptism does not actually incorporate the recipient into Christ (pp. 41, 42) but serves only as the ablutionary preparation or, perhaps, imperfect incorporation (p. 58). A careful examination of the writing of Anselm convinces me that Dr. Williams reads far more into the texts than the saint intended. One example may be cited: "No one is to enter His palace [the kingdom of God] until that is done [Baptism and penance/Eucharist] whereby the faults are remitted" (p. 48). While this is not absolutely clear in the Latin *(Cur Deus Homo,* II, ch. xvi), St. Anselm elucidates his meaning some forty lines later: "But no soul could enter paradise *before Christ's death,* as I said before when speaking of the king's palace." The author's thesis is not bolstered by such misreadings. IGNATIUS BRADY

WOODWARD, C. VANN. *The Burden of Southern History.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1961. Pp. xiv, 205. $3.50.)

This volume is a collection of essays all but one of which have been published before. Several are quite provocative, and two of the essays deal in particular with the subject from which the author draws the title of his book. The South has had an experience which the rest of the nation has not had, i.e., of knowing defeat, or having "blood-knowledge of what life can be in a defeated country on the bare bones of privation." It is an experience that the region shares with almost all of Europe, Asia, and Africa. Professor Woodward remarks, "Hundreds of millions of these people are taught to believe that we [Americans] are as arrogant, immoral, ruthless and wicked as ever the South was pictured in an earlier war of words." America, with its tradition of virtue, innocence, and certainty in its institutions, meets this charge with indignation. Like the South of 1861, the United States might yet find itself defending ideas or systems which the rest of the world has repudiated. It must resist the inclination to secede from the world, or to fight a war so as to "compel history to conform to the pattern" of its dream. The burden of southern history is to show that the United States in 1961 might be compared to the South in 1861; Mr. Woodward makes the comparison. RICHARD C. MADDEN

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